National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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VOL. XIII. NO. 33. NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JANUARY 6, 1853. WHOLE NO. 657.

Published weekly, on Thursday, by the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, at their office, No. 142 NASSAU STREET, NEW-YORK. Terms, TWO DOLLARS per annum. Printed for the American Anti-Slavery Society, by NORRIS & JOHNSTON, printers, No. 21 Spruce street.

Pro-Slavery.

SLAVERY IN THE SOUTH.

UNCLE TOM'S CABIN.

EVERY nation has its "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Sentimental Germany had its "Sorrows of Werter," which caused floods of tears to be shed. An idle fellow falls in love with another man's wife, a prudent matron, the mother of five or six children; the good woman and her kind husband share in the sorrows of poor Werter! Then why not not bring about a divorce, and make a more congenial arrangement? Ah, but that would put an end to the romance.

Without going into the region of sentiment, but looking no further than sad reality, both in England and the United States, and every civilised country of Europe, there is [illegible] worse circumstances than the worst of Southern Slavery. Poor Ireland had its "cabin," at least until lately, where the peasantry have been turned out on the high roads. What shall we say of the sufferings of women and children in the mines and factories of England? What of the sixty thousand in London alone who, with every returning sun, have no certainty of a meal through the day, or a shelter to retire to at night? Look at our own populous cities in the North, with their "Five Points," and other hells of misery and vice, more revolting than the worst condition of Southern Slavery! Shall we cry out against civilization because such things are inherent in the system? Some of the most shocking crimes grow out of the most endearing relations; but we must not take the exception for the rule; and in this checkered life, we must take the bad with the good. It will not do to write a nation's character or history from its crimes or miseries. When Gulliver was required by the King of the Brobdinags to give some account of the little race of men to which he belonged, he presented the dark side of the picture to his majesty so vividly, that the good monarch could not help exclaiming, "If what you tell me be true, yours must be the vilest race of little vermin that ever cursed the earth!" One of the ablest publications on the subject of Slavery may be seen in a late number of *Littell's Living Age*, in which it is treated with great clearness and freedom from controversial temper.

If I wished to present a single instance of an English Uncle Tom's (or rather John Bull's) Cabin, so as to give a more vivid picture than can be done by a general description, I could find one already done to hand, attributed to Warren, the author of *Ten Thousand a Year*. This is in a late work, the *Experiences of a Barrister*. The name of the hero is Mason, brought up to the sea, and who, by invariable good conduct, had risen to be master of a merchant vessel, with an amiable wife and two children. It so happened that, the evening before he was to sail on a voyage for his owners, on leaving his abode for some business, he was seized by a press-gang in the street, and dragged on board a man-of-war, which almost immediately sailed on a cruise. His distracted wife, after waiting in vain for his return, hastened to the merchant, where she could learn nothing except that he had engaged another master. He showed her no sympathy, and gave her no comfort. Her unfortunate husband had at the time of his impressment all his money on his person, and the wife was left entirely destitute. In a moment of agony, after exhausting all her means, and in order to save the lives of her starving children, she could not resist the temptation to lay her hands on a piece of lace in a shop, of sufficient value to make it grand larceny. She was arrested on the spot; her miserable story excited no commiseration; she was hurried to prison. And here follows the more horrible part of the story. The barrister relates that he undertook her defence as far as the English law would allow; he avers that the incident *is true*, and was the motive to Sir Thomas Romilly in his efforts to reform the criminal laws of England. The account which he gives of the trial is most revolting. According to the English law she was not allowed counsel to address the jury in her defence. A brutal prosecutor inveighed against the almost unconscious being, after which an unfeeling Judge and Jury *condemned her to suffer death*. The barrister exerted himself in vain to obtain a pardon, at least a mitigation of the cruel sentence. The only touch of humanity observed among the officials was from the hangman, at the gallows, *who kindly took the babe from her arms*, just before executing his dreadful office! "Is this fancy, or is it fact?" If it be fact—and there is no just reason to doubt it—then the ladies of the Southern States might well retort on their sisters of England, whose sympathies have been so keenly awakened in favour of the well-fed and well-cared-for slaves, old and young, where their infancy is always joyous, old age comfortable, and middle age preserved from that care and anxiety which so often wear the poor white labourer to the bone.

In the above I allude to the remonstrance lately addressed by the ladies of England to the ladies of the Southern States in behalf of the *dramatis personæ* of the fiction styled *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. A fiction in a double sense; neither the truth nor like the truth; and yet it has been recommended from the pulpit with us by pious clergymen, who denounce as sinful the reading of all other sentimental novels and romances!

I am far from being one of those who justify Slavery in the abstract, or think that it is not our duty to look forward to its extinction by every rational, prudent, and practical means. From a residence of many years in the South I know the difficulties of the case, and I am not for doubling or trebling the present evils by doubtful experiments. These difficulties are fairly presented by Judge Tucker, in the appendix to his edition of Blackstone; and indeed it presents many and great difficulties. Emancipation is but a small part of the work except to those who do not look beyond it. Unless that great work be done in a proper manner, it is but an act of cruelty as great to the slaves as turning helpless children out of doors, at the same time that it is ruinous to the country. General Washington, in his will, adopted the only course under which the act is justifiable. After freeing all but the dower slaves of his estate, he provided for the comfortable subsistence of the aged during life, directed the children over ten years of age to be bound as apprentices to learn trades, and provided an outfit for the adult. In no other way could he reconcile the act with a sense of humanity and justice; and, if I am rightly informed, even this provision did not produce the effect he desired in improving the condition of the freedman.

It was not without indignation I read, a few months ago, in a public lecture of a distinguished northern orator, an allusion to this subject, and an appeal from "Washington on earth to Washington in heaven!" The orator was, no doubt, perfectly assured of his own salvation on the wings of Abolition. We all remember the rebuke administered by Henry Clay to the Indiana fanatic; and there are those who may recollect the censure cast on Francis Key by his fellow Abolitionists, because, after liberating all his slaves who were capable of taking care of themselves, he retained seven superannuated men and women, to whom the *idea* of Slavery still attached—Slavery being in itself a sin, and with sin there was no compromise! It was in vain for him to reply that he was bound to support them at any rate; and if he freed them, he would be bound to give bonds to keep them off the public as paupers. Sir William Temple tells us that the villeins of England, both before and after the Norman conquest, were absolute slaves, and, from his account, in a much more abject state of servitude than those of the South. Their gradual emancipation was slow, and the work of centuries, although for various reasons more rapid after the conquest, where cases of implied or constructive emancipation were recognised. The first great step was the change from villeinage in gross to villeinage regardant, when they became *glebæ adstricti*, or capable of being sold or transferred only with the land. Their condition slowly improved during a long series of years, and their fitness for freedom was prepared in servitude, notwithstanding the declaration of one of the English judges in very modern times, that "Slavery cannot exist on the soil of England." And so the work has been going on in the South, as slow and as certain as the ways of Providence, more wise and just than the ways of weak and short-sighted man. A sudden and violent emancipation, without attempting to reconcile different interests, would most certainly lead to the destruction of one or the other of the races, as in St. Domingo; or a premature emancipation, as in Jamaica, would lead to the ruin of both races, in the return to barbarism on the part of the slave.

I will embrace this occasion to make some remarks on the subject of Slavery in the United States, the result of personal observation, and, I may add, of much reflection. No one can understand the difficulties attending it without bearing in mind that it is both a *community* and a *relation*. Every slave family or collection of families, under the compulsory guidance of the white family, is a community where the able-bodied labour for their own support as well as for the support of those who are unable to work. It is a mistake to suppose that the master does not work. He has his duties to perform; and I have seen Overseers at work by the side of their slaves in the same field. They work under compulsion; it is true, but habit renders it light, and without it they would not work at all. There are, consequently, no beggars, or paupers; no want, and, unless in some of the commercial cities, no poor-houses. The day's labour of the slave is notoriously not more than half that of the white man; and, if left to himself, it would not be half of that. The census, whatever the cause may be, shows surprising results from this state of things, in the rapid increase in the number of the slave population; and their personal comfort, compared to labourers in other parts of the world, is now generally admitted. As a general rule, none are better clothed, fed, lodged, or more lightly tasked. There are, of course, exceptions; but in general, interest concurs with humanity in improving their condition. Temperance, content, and cheerfulness, insure them health and long life. There are not less than 200,000 over 70 years of age and under 100, in 3,000,000. There are double the number of centenarians of those that may be found in 15,000,000 of whites. There are more than half a million under ten years of age, and these, with the aged, are supported without work; besides several thousand deaf and dumb and idiots. I do not account for the greater number of centenarians to the greater longevity of the race, but to the greater freedom from those distracting cares, from the precarious living, and frequently irregular habits, so destructive to the freeman.

I am not defending Slavery; I am simply stating facts. Would it not be a rash thing to break up this community without providing something equally efficient in its place? something in which the Southern owners can place confidence—not the bare assertion, which they know to be false, that the slaves, if freed, will become useful and reliable labourers. Judge Tucker may have expressed himself too strongly when he asserted that a sudden emancipation would make them "the caterpillars of the earth and the tigers of the human race;" yet I am confident that they would work about as well as schoolboys would learn their books in the absence of the master. When we look at the history of the Jesuit missions of Paraguay and California, where the wild and restless savages were placed in communities, under the control of a few priests, we cannot doubt the consequence of breaking up these communities, no matter in what way the compulsory force may be applied. The communities referred to were no sooner broken up than the reclaimed savage almost immediately threw aside his industrious habits and scattered over the country, more barbarous than the cannibal of the wilderness. Authentic accounts of the present state of Jamaica show results equally bad. Pious enthusiasts attempted to disguise the truth by using the term "squatters and vagabonds." In the case of Liberia the emigrants were schooled and prepared for the purpose. The Colonisation Society never quitted its hold of them; it still contributes to their support; strong religious influence was brought to bear; the progress of the colony has been slow and gradual, and the subjects for the greater part selected; and still the great complaint is, that they apply themselves slowly and reluctantly to the cultivation of the soil. I have no hesitation to say that the greatest danger of this interesting colony will be from too rapid and indiscriminate increase of its numbers. I once asked a very intelligent coloured freedman in Virginia whether he thought the slaves fit to be free at once? He candidly replied that some of them were, but that the great body of them were not. I dare say the same answer would be given by an intelligent man in France, as to whether the French people were fit for a republican government.

But Southern Slavery is not merely a community; for, unlike that of the missions, it is also a relation; not merely that of the owner of his chattels, although even that is of importance; but of that near and intimate kind which forms a tie on the affections; one of mutual interest and dependence; beginning in infancy, and even going back into tradition, conferring an oracular authority to the aged "Uncle Tom" or "Aunt Dina," who use the privilege of the aged with both the young and old of the master's family. This relation is stronger and closer than the clanship described by Walter Scott in the "Fair Maid" of Perth, where the clanswoman devotes the lives of her nine sons to the laird! I could write a volume on this subject without exhausting it. I have resided many years in the South, and have traversed more than once the whole tier of the Southern States; first, along the seaboard, then through the middle belt, and then through the western portions; in each of which the state of Slavery differs essentially from the others; and I am convinced that no man, without the opportunity of personal observation and freedom from prejudice, is competent to form a just and correct opinion on the subject.

I am no friend to Slavery. I went to the South strongly affected against it, and never overcome my repugnance to that kind of property; but I soon found that, however desirable to do it away, it was attended with difficulties of which I had formed no conception. I firmly believe that it will cease in the course of time, and perhaps as soon as it can be extinguished without causing still greater evils than attend its existence. I am further of opinion that this consummation should never be lost sight of by the masters, and that they should make early preparations for the gradual transition to freedom. The condition of the slave must be improved *in Slavery* to fit him for the change, as in numerous instances of those sent to Liberia, along with a large proportion of those who were born free. The work was begun seventy years ago in Pennsylvania, and is only just completed. I have often asked, where are the descendants of those freemen? They would be hard to find. I fear there is too much truth in the observation that two distinct races cannot long exist together without the destruction of the *inferior* race, or at least regarded as such. In the opinion of Mr. Clay, it will be gradually extinguished, even without legislation, by the increase in number of the whites, and the cheapness of labour; but unless they find a seat of empire in Africa, to which they may carry with them all the "learning of the Egyptians," like Moses and the children of Israel, freedom will only be the commencement of gradual extinction. I think it unquestionable that the race has increased in Slavery and decreased in freedom. What a contrast between the latter and the pilgrims of Plymouth and the settlers of Jamestown! The descendants of the pilgrims have been estimated at four millions, and of Virginia perhaps even greater; these two colonies now form the heart, the core of the American nation; the Northern more properly Saxon, the Southern with a mixture of the Celtic or Norman. I will conclude this essay with some suggestions, which I will endeavour to condense as much as possible.

1. The first step, as already hinted, will be to prepare them, while in their present state, for a *civilized freedom*, which the race never enjoyed in Africa or anywhere else, and to which their servitude in America opened the only way that was ever presented to them. The improvement in their state and condition, in consequence of their *misfortune*, if it can be so called, when compared to their barbarous ancestors, has already been immense. They have not only been christianised, but they have shared largely in that stock of knowledge and ideas, and of those elevated feelings, which belong to an enlightened people. They have not only been raised many degrees in the scale, in numerous individual instances, but they have been elevated as a *race of people*. The designs of Providence are as plainly visible in these results as in the preparatory bondage during four hundred years of the children of Israel to fit them to act a part on the theatre of Palestine and the world. All must admit that the moral improvement of the three millions of Africans in this country, especially since the extinction of the Slave Trade, has placed them at an immeasurable distance ahead of their African kindred; and that this improvement is still going on, spite of the mischievous interference of ignorant and mistaken philanthropy.

2. The second step will be to begin with some course of legislation, or *code noir*, as in Louisiana, which contains, among other provisions, a prohibition, under the heaviest penalties, to separate the mother from the child under ten years old. Both the Spanish and the Brazilian codes have some things which might be judiciously adopted. A more important provision, and in which the interest of the owner would coincide with humanity, relates to the compulsory separation of families. One of still greater consequence, and which laid the basis for the extinction of villeinage in England, and is most important in the Russian system of Slavery, is the distinction of slaves in gross, and the *glebæ adstricti*; the first being liable to be sold like chattels, the latter transferable only with the soil. I admit that practical difficulties may present themselves; modifications would be required in favour of emigration to new lands, by which the slave is as much benefitted as the master.

I have not space to enter into the subject fully with respect to the economical as well as legal character of the proposed legislative improvement of their condition; I prefer leaving it to those more immediately interested, and who understand the subject a thousand times better than strangers. I should not have presumed to enter on the subject, but that I have observed of late years a growing disposition to view this great question dispassionately, reasonably, practically, and, I will add, liberally. That great work is retarded by such writings as "Uncle Tom's Cabin," the only effect of which is to foster unkindly feelings between portions of the same country. False and exaggerated pictures of life and manners, exciting scenes and romances, and visionary sentimentality, may pass in comparatively harmless novels: but books like the one referred to, giving rise to unjust conclusions from exceptional cases, real or imaginary, tend to produce effects much more pernicious, and certainly can do no possible good, unless that their grossness may serve to awaken in reflecting minds a disposition to do justice to the South, by a more calm and philosophic inquiry.

H. M. BRACKENRIDGE.

TARRENTIM, Dec. 20, 1852.

—*National Intelligencer.*

TO THE MINISTERS AND MEMBERS.

OF THE

M. E. CHURCH IN THE BORDER CONFERENCES.

DEAR BRETHREN: You have been made acquainted, through the *Christian Advocate and Journal*, with the effort now making, and which is to be continued up to the meeting of the next General Conference, to procure the enactment of a Rule of Discipline "to expel all slaveholders from Church fellowship, whatever be their character or circumstances." We have not heard of any alarm among you from an apprehension that such a Rule will be adopted, and we hope there will be none. But as the position the Church has placed us in gives us a wider range of observation than you can command, we ought from our watch-tower to apprize you that no certain calculation can be made as to the result. Were the question to be taken now, we could very confidently predict that the advocates of this measure would be left in a very lean minority; but no one can tell what three years and a half may bring forth, because there are elements at work the force of which no past experience enables us to estimate. Hitherto two political parties have divided the country; and the members of neither party could be detached, in any important number, from their party organizations by Abolition influences. But a crisis has arrived in party arrangement. The overwhelming defeat of one of the great political parties at the late election will perhaps give rise to new organizations, in one of which Abolitionism may enter as an essential element; and if so, it may become more popular than heretofore, and with such support may effect a revolution in the Churches, as well as in our civil affairs. Mr. Hosmer has already paved his way to political influence by his book on "THE HIGHER LAW," dedicated to the Hon. Mr. Seward. Under such circumstances, we repeat it, we cannot be assured that the cruel, *ex post facto* rescinding Rule of Discipline, already sustained by three conferences, if not by four, will not be passed.

But it may be asked what ought the border conferences to do under these circumstances? If such an one as your old friend, who has been with you in weal and in woe for more than half a century, might be allowed to advise, we would answer—do nothing at all. Just "stand still, and see the salvation of God." Do not agitate, do not pass any resolutions in annual or quarterly conferences, nor primary assemblies of the membership. We have placed the proposed Disciplinary measure before the Church in its true light; any hostile attitude assumed by the border conferences might aggravate, but could not appease, the ultra-Abolitionists. We think the great body of our ministers are sound on this subject, and that those who would cut you off from the Church confederation will diminish, rather than increase in numbers. It can hardly be that the Churches of New England, among whom your fathers planted Methodism, and watered it with their tears, will consent to expel from the Church the children of Lee, and Wells, and Roberts, and others of whom the world is not worthy. Good old father Wells is now in his old age, can be denied religious fellowship by those who have entered into his labours. At present we are pretty confident of the great West; and indeed of all the conferences except Oneida, Black River, and East Genessee. Old Genesee, we are assured by her own resolutions and otherwise, occupies the honourable distinction of the breakwater conference in Western New York, while the Wyoming Conference will be as firm as the beaten anvil to the stroke. Of all this we are confident, unless, as we have intimated, some new political movement should beget a feverish heat among the laity, and compel the preachers to change their present ground.

But whatever may happen before or at the next General Conference, even if the "Rule" should pass, your best policy is "a masterly inactivity." It is clear beyond all controversy that you cannot execute the Rule. You would not it you could, and you could not if you would. You could not find committees who would find brethren guilty of "a crime sufficient to exclude them from the kingdom of grace and glory," because they held slaves whom they could not free, or even discharge from their service, without sacrificing them to the merciless slave-trader; or because they would not forcibly separate a man from his wife and children, or take him to a free State, from whence he could not return, even on a visit, without incurring the penalty of being sold at public auction as a slave. You could not find committees to convict brethren under such circumstances of any crime at all; and if you could, the quarterly conferences would, upon appeal, always reverse the decision.

But what would be the consequences of refusing or neglecting to enforce the rule? The General Conference would be powerless, either to punish you or to supersede you. Our fathers never imagined it possible that our General Conference would enact a rule which it would be wicked to execute; and had no apprehension that any annual conference would fail to enforce righteous discipline. They therefore did not incorporate in our Discipline any provision for the excision of an annual conference. So you have nothing to do, even if the rule passes, but to "stand still, and see the salvation of God." He has the hearts of all men in his hand. Put your trust confidingly in his love for his Church, and his wisdom to control the issues before us. Let your preachers and membership live near to God, and be earnestly employed in his work. Do not forget the depressed race in your midst. You do not believe in Mr. Hosmer's theory that slaves cannot be Christians. You have seen them converted to God, and show forth the power of divine grace in their lives and conversation. Let them be special objects of ministerial care and labour. God has put them into your hands, and you must account for them in "that day for which all other days were made." Heed not this senseless agitation at the North. It is itself included in that comprehensive inventory, the "all things which shall work together for your good," if you are rightly exercised under it. Again, we say, live near to God. To him be glory in the Church throughout all ages. Amen.—*Christian Advocate and Journal.*

Selections.

FUGITIVE SLAVE CASE.

IMPORTANT DECISION IN THE U. S. SUPREME COURT.

CASE OF RICHARD EELLS VS. THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF ILLINOIS.

Richard Eells, Plaintiff in Error, vs. The People of the State of Illinois.—In Supreme Court of the United States. Writ of Error to the Supreme Court of Illinois. Mr. CHASE and Mr. DIXON, for plaintiff; Mr. MCDOUGALL, for defendant in Error. Mr. Justice GRIER delivered the opinion of the Court.

THE plaintiff in error was indicted and convicted under the criminal code of Illinois for "harbouring and secreting a negro slave." The record was removed by writ of error to the Supreme Court of that State; and it was there contended on behalf of the plaintiff in error, that the judgment and conviction should be reversed, because the Statute of Illinois, upon which the indictment was founded, is void, by reason of its being in conflict with that article of the Constitution of the United States which declares "that no person held to labour or service in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such labour may be due." And, also, because said statute is in conflict with the act of Congress on the same subject.

That this record presents a case of which this Court has jurisdiction under the twenty-fifth section of the Judiciary Act, is not disputed.

The statute of Illinois, whose validity is called in question, is contained in the 149th section of the Criminal code, and is as follows: "If any person shall harbour or secrete any negro, mulatto, or person of colour, the same being a slave or servant owing service or labour to any other person, whether they reside in this State or in any other State or Territory, or district, within the limits and under the jurisdiction of the United States, or shall in any wise hinder or prevent the lawful owner or owners of such slaves or servants from retaking them, in a lawful manner, every such person so offending shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanour, and fined not exceeding five hundred dollars, or imprisoned not exceeding six months."

The bill of indictment framed under this statute contains four counts. The first charges that "Richard Eells, a certain negro slave owing service to one C. D., of the State of Missouri, did unlawfully *secrete*, contrary to the form of the statute, &c."

2. That he *harboured* the same.

3. For unlawfully secreting a negro owing labour in the State of Missouri, to one C. D., which said negro had secretly fled from said State and from said C. D.

4. For unlawfully preventing C. D., the lawful owner of said slave, from retaking him in a lawful manner, by secreting the said negro, contrary to the form of the statute, &c.

In view of this section of the Criminal Code of Illinois, and this indictment founded on it, we are unable to discover anything that conflicts with the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, or the legislation of Congress, on the subject of fugitives from labour. It does not interfere, in any manner, with the owner or claimant in the exercise of his right to arrest and recapture his slave. It neither interrupts, delays or impedes the right of the master to immediate possession. It gives no immunity or protection to the fugitive against the claim of his master. It acts neither on the master nor his slave; on his right or his remedy. It prescribes a rule of conduct for the citizens of Illinois. It is but the exercise of the power which every State is admitted to possess, of defining offences, and punishing offences against the laws. The power to make municipal regulations for the restraint and punishment of crime, for the preservation of the health and morals of her citizens, and of the public peace, has never been surrendered by the States, or restrained by the Constitution of the United States. In the exercise of this power, which has been denominated the police power, a State has a right to make it a penal offence to introduce paupers, criminals, or fugitive slaves within their borders, and punish those who thwart this policy by harbouring concealing or secreting such persons. Some of the States, coterminous with those who tolerate Slavery, have found it necessary to protect themselves against the influx either of liberated or fugitive slaves, and to repel from their soil a population likely to become burdensome and injurious, either as paupers or criminals.

Experience has shown, also, that the results of such conduct as that prohibited by the statute in question, are not only to demoralize their citizens who live in daily and open disregard of the duties imposed upon them by the Constitution and laws, but to destroy the harmony and kind feelings which should exist between citizens of this Union, to create border feuds and bitter animosities, and to cause breaches of the peace, violent assaults, riots, and murder No one can deny or doubt the right of a State to defend itself against evils of such magnitude, and punish those who perversely persist in conduct which promotes them.

As this statute does not impede the master in the exercise of his rights, so neither does it interfere to aid or assist him. If a State, in the exercise of its legitimate powers, in promotion of its policy of excluding an unacceptable population, should thus indirectly benefit the master of a fugitive, no one has a right to complain that it has, thus far, at least, fulfilled a duty assumed or imposed by its compact as a member of the Union.

But though we are of opinion that such is the character, policy and intention of the statute in question, and that for this reason alone the power of the State to make and enforce such a law cannot be doubted; yet we would not wish it to be inferred, by any implication from what we have said, that any legislation of a State to aid and assist the claimant, and which does not directly or indirectly delay, impede or frustrate the reclamation of a fugitive, or interfere with the claimant in the prosecution of his other remedies, is necessarily void. This question has not been before the Court, and cannot be decided in anticipation of future cases.

It has been urged that this act is void, as it subjects the delinquent to a double punishment for a single offence. But we think that neither the fact assumed in this proposition nor the influence from it will be found to be correct. The offences for which the fourth section of the act of 12th February, 1792, subjects the delinquent to a fine of five hundred dollars, are different in many respects from those defined by the statute of Illinois. The act of Congress contemplates recapture and reclamation, and punishes those who interfere with the master in the exercise of this right—First, by obstructing or hindering the claimant in his endeavours to seize and arrest the fugitives; secondly, by rescuing the fugitive when arrested; and, thirdly, by harbouring or concealing him after notice.

But the act of Illinois, having for its object the prevention of the immigration of such persons, punishes the harbouring or secreting negro slaves, whether domestic or foreign, and without regard to the master's desire either to reclaim or abandon them. The fine imposed is not given to the master, as the party injured, but to the State, as a penalty for disobedience of its laws. And if the fine inflicted by the act of Congress had been made recoverable by indictment, the offence, as stated in any one of the counts of the bill before us, would not have supported such an indictment. Even the last count, which charges the plaintiff in error with "unlawfully preventing C. D., the lawful owner, from retaking the negro slave," as it does not allege notice—does not describe an offence punishable by the act of Congress.

But admitting that the plaintiff in error may be liable to an action under the act of Congress, for the same acts of harbouring and preventing the owner from retaking his slave, it does not follow that he would be twice punished for the same offence. An offence, in its legal signification, means the transgression of a law. A man may be compelled to make reparation in damages to the injured party, and be liable also to punishment for a breach of the public peace, in consequence of the same act; and may be said, in common parlance, to be twice punished for the same offence. Every citizen of the United States is also a citizen of a State or Territory. He may be said to owe allegiance to two Sovereigns, and may be liable to punishment for an infraction of the laws of either. The same act may be an offence or transgression of the laws of both. Thus an assault upon the Marshal of the United States, for which the perpetrator is liable to punishment: and the same act may be also a gross breach of the peace of the State, a riot, assault or a murder, and subject the same person to a punishment under the State laws for a misdemeanour or felony. That either or both may (if they see fit) punish such an offender, cannot be doubted. Yet it cannot be truly averred that the offender has been twice punished for the same offence, but only that by one act he has committed two offences, for each of which he is justly punishable. He could not plead the punishment by one in bar to a conviction by the other, consequently this Court has decided in the case of Fox *vs.* the State of Ohio (5 Howard, 432), that a State may punish the offence of uttering or passing false coin as a cheat or fraud practiced on its citizens; and in the case of the United States *vs.* Marigold (9 How., 560), that Congress, in the proper exercise of its authority, may punish the same act as an offence against the United States.

It has been urged in the argument on behalf of the plaintiff in error, that an affirmance of the judgment in this case, will conflict with the decision of this Court in the case of Prigg *vs.* the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania (16 Peters, 540). This we think is a mistake.

The questions presented and decided in that case differed entirely from those which affect the present. Prigg, with full power and authority from the owner, had arrested a fugitive slave in Pennsylvania, and taken her to her master in Maryland. For this he was indicted and convicted under a statute of Pennsylvania, making it a felony to take and carry away any negro or mulatto for the purpose of detaining them as slaves.

The following questions were presented by the case and decided by the Court:

1. That under and in virtue of the Constitution of the United States, the owner of a slave is clothed with entire authority in every State in the Union, to seize and recapture the slave wherever he can do it without illegal violence or a breach of the peace.

2. That the Government is clothed with appropriate authority and functions to enforce the delivery on claim of the owner, and has properly exercised it in the act of Congress of 12th Feb., 1793.

3. That any State law, or regulation, which interrupts, impedes, limits embarrasses, delays or postpones the right of the owner to the immediate possession of the slave, and the immediate command of his services, is void.

We have in this case assumed the correctness of these doctrines; and it will be found that the grounds on which this case is decided were fully recognised in that. "We entertain," say the Court (page 625), "no doubt whatsoever, that the States, in virtue of their general police power, possess full jurisdiction to arrest and restrain runaway slaves, and remove them from their borders, and otherwise to secure themselves against the depredations and evil example, as they certainly may do in cases of idlers, vagabonds and paupers. The rights of the owners of fugitive slaves are in no just sense interfered with, or regulated by such a course; and in many cases, the operations of the police power, although destined essentially for other purposes—for the protection, safety and peace of the State—may essentially promote and aid the interests of the owners But such regulations can never be permitted to interfere with, or to obstruct, the just rights of the owner to reclaim his slave, derived from the Constitution of the United States, or with the remedies prescribed by Congress to aid and enforce the same."

Upon these grounds, we are of opinion that the act of Illinois, upon which this indictment is founded, is constitutional, and, therefore, affirm the judgment.

Test.: WM. THOS. CARROLL, C. S. C. U. S.

Judge MCLEAN dissented.

WE are requested by a correspondent abroad to copy from the *Belfast* (Ireland) *Whig* the following communication to that paper, with the rejoinder made by a gentleman of that city.

DANIEL WEBSTER.

(From a Correspondent.)

THE news from America, in another column, announces that Daniel Webster is dead. This event has a European importance, and, we venture to say, will awaken a European sympathy. The Western Republic, within a brief space, has lost two of her greatest men, representing well—the one the best qualities of her Southern States, the other those of the North. Their names, as they will go down to history together, are Daniel Webster and Henry Clay.

No man, since George Washington, has filled a larger space in the public eye of both Continents than the Statesman Webster, whose decease we are called upon to record. For more than a quarter of a century he stood forth admittedly the greatest of America's living sons. But in the troublesome times that happened previous to, and during the Presidency of Zachary Taylor, the position of the great Statesman became peculiar; and attempts, the brunt of which reached this country and attracted attention here, were made by party influences to degrade him from that post of honour. The question of Negro Slavery, which, however approached, is one most delicate to handle in the existing circumstances of the Union, came up to be discussed *and acted upon*. The peculiar exigencies of the time demanded that some step should be immediately taken which should at once pacify the South, and offer a guarantee to the Northern Commonwealths of the Federation that the evil of Negro Slavery should not be extended. On that point the very existence of the nation hung. From Maine to Texas—the Atlantic to California, men's minds were at fever heat. The dissolution of the Union was openly canvassed; and not only in those Southern districts of the country, where hot-heads proverbially abound, but in the cold "calculating" States of New England, its possibility was viewed without the horror which, but a short time previously, so suicidal a course would have inspired. Nay, a formidable political party appeared in the field with the treasonable name of "Disunionists," on which sprang into life an opposing party, who, casting aside for the time all lesser considerations, based their stand on the platform of the "Union." Here were all the elements of civil war. To foreigners, who happened to be in America at the period to which we refer, the bitterness of feeling that pervaded society must have been a source of astonishment and apprehension; to those who shared in the agitations of the time they form a reminiscence never to be erased from men's minds.

At this juncture all eyes were turned on Daniel Webster. The citizens of the North naturally expected that his Northern birth and breeding would bind him to "Northern principles," while the South felt equally confident that a Statesman of his position would not, to mere clamour, sacrifice all claims of justice, by which, of course, *they* meant the claims of their "peculiar institution." Before this period the celebrated Fugitive Slave Bill, for the settlement of the limits of Slavery on the one hand, and the recapture of fugitive slaves on the other, had been mooted in various forms, but no one had position or strength enough to bear the terrible responsibility of its enactment. Of the earlier history of this measure this is not the place to speak. Suffice it to say, that Mr. Webster stepped forward, took the responsibility, and became from that hour the best abused man in the Union. The extreme of both parties overwhelmed him with reproaches, and, not content with that, his personal character was torn to pieces with a baseness that caused the right-feeling to blush. Perjury, corruption, even drunkenness and debauchery, were but a few of the charges brought against him. He was linked to Judas, to Arnold, to the devil. The accumulated sins of Slavery, from the importation of the first African to that hour, were heaped upon his head, and could Abolitionists' and ultra-Slavery-men's maledictions have done it, he had been buried fathom deep. Nevertheless, he was warmly supported by those classes best described by the English term "respectable." Large sums of money were raised (for not even in a Republic can political contests be carried on without the sinews of war) to advance his interests, and to place him above the necessity of having to distract his attention from affairs of State by exertions for a livelihood. This last circumstance, joined to his carelessness about money matters, gave a handle to certain unscrupulous members of the Garrison and Wright school, to tax him with being suborned, but it is only just to admit that the insinuation was disapproved of by more influential members of the Free Soil party, and was scouted by the community at large. Latterly, in view of his failing health, and really well-working of the Fugitive Slave Law, * those asperities were softening down, and Mr. Webster continued alternately to attend his duties at Washington, and to reside on his farm at Marshfield, in the enjoyment of the respect and warm interests of all classes of his countrymen.

Our limits will not allow us to do more than glance at the leading events of Mr. Webster's career. Born at Salisbury, State of New Hampshire, of New England parents, Webster's youth was that of other children brought up under the stern principles of morality and industry that distinguish the descendants of the Puritans. After such an education as the locality afforded, he completed his studies at Dartmouth University, and was subsequently admitted to the Bar of Massachusetts, with which to the end of his life he continued his connexion. At the age of 30, and soon after the declaration of war by the United States against England, he was elected as Representative to the Lower House of Congress, of which Henry Clay was then Speaker, and took his seat there in May, 1813. His maiden speech was on the subject of Napoleon's Berlin and Milan decrees, and such was the ability it displayed that he was appointed on the Committee of Foreign relations. Here, being opposed to the policy that ruled the hour, he contented himself with siding with such measures as appeared safest for the country, and took frequent opportunities of urging the improvement of the Navy as the best means of coping with England. During this Session his fame as an orator, and not less so as a man of business, rapidly increased, and his opinion was received and valued on most of the great questions that agitated the time After the peace, in 1814, his extensive knowledge and mastery of details came into use in the new commercial questions that then arose, and, amongst other measures, he opposed successfully the establishment of a national bank. The same year, in consequence of the accidental burning of his house at Plymouth, he removed his family to Boston, in which city his law office is still presided over by his partner, Mr. Healey. In Boston he continued to rise in the estimation of his fellow-citizens, and was appointed one of the delegates to revise the Constitution of the State of Massachusetts. In 1822, he was sent to Congress as a Representative from Boston, Henry Clay being again Speaker of the House. This Session (1823) was distinguished by Webster's celebrated appeal on behalf of the Greeks, then struggling for independence. In this oration, having moved that an Envoy should be sent to encourage the Greeks, he laid down the principles that ought to guide the Republic—scouted the Holy Alliance—expressed the utmost sympathy with the insurrection, advocating, however, not armed intervention, but every other kind of assistance. The speech stands on record as one of the highest efforts of oratory. Next year Mr. Webster came prominently forward on the Tariff question, and was re-elected to Congress by 4,990 votes out of 5,000.

Under the Presidency of John Quincy Adams, Mr. Webster, on the subject of the Panama Mission, took his stand on the doctrine of President Munroe—"That any combination of European powers to promote projects in the American Continent, must be held as directly affecting this nation"—a doctrine to which the position of affairs, at the present moment, between Europe and the West, lends a deep importance. We must pass over many brilliant speeches between this period and his taking his seat in the Senate in 1828, noticing only that—known by heart by every schoolboy in the Union—delivered on the occasion of the second centenary of the landing of the pilgrims at Plymouth; that on the anniversary of the fight of Bunkers-hill, and the funeral orations on Adams and Jefferson. In 1827, Mr. Webster's wife, to whom he was fondly attached, died; and the event had a depressing tendency on him for a time. But in his career as a Senator, which commenced at that date, and together with his tenure of office as a Cabinet Minister, continued, with but brief intermission, till his death, there appears an accession rather than diminution of his energy. There is no event in the history of the nation, since that time, in which he does not stand out as a chief actor. We need but mention the struggle between State and Federal rights, in which Webster vindicated, single-handed and successfully, against Hayne and the ablest men of General Jackson's time, the national view, which, with later following out of the same interpretation, gained him the title of "the Expounder of the Constitution." For his course in the State's Rights question, he received the thanks of the Legislatures of Massachusetts and several other States. Throughout the whole of Jackson's Administration, Mr. Webster continued in opposition on the Nullification question, the Bank question, and others arising therefrom under Van Buren's Presidency. Under the latter government commenced the antagonism between Calhoun and Webster upon Slavery, among the earliest incidents being a resolution moved by the former and opposed by the latter, against the interference of Congress with Slavery within the district of Columbia—in other words, within the capital of the Federation. Since then, Mr. Webster's course on the subject of Slavery has exhibited no manifestation at variance with those feelings which cannot but cause every right mind to regard Negro servitude with grief and commiseration; but he could not stoop to the clap-trap that would charm the Emancipation faction; and hence the obloquy with which he has been assailed.

In 1839, Mr. Webster made a hasty tour in Europe, being the only occasion he had ever been abroad. Previous to this journey he declined being put in nomination for the Presidency, and on his return took an active part in favour of General Harrison, who was, consequently, raised to that dignity in 1841, and confided to Mr. Webster the Secretaryship of State. This office was peculiarly fitted to Webster's talents. It will be remembered in what a critical condition the North-Eastern boundary then was—as later the Oregon difficulty—and how satisfactorily to both countries negotiations were brought to a close. The Right of Search, and the M'Leod case, which threatened a rupture between England and America, were, in like manner, smoothed over—the former by the treaty of Washington, out of which, by the way, grew a political difficulty between Mr. Webster and Mr. Ingersoll, at present American Minister in London, to which it may not be delicate to allude. About this date, difficulties began to arise between the United States and Mexico, and afforded many opportunities for the display of the Secretary's diplomatic abilities, as did the negotiations with China, Portugal, and other countries, although our space prevents any attempt to enumerate them. Under Mr. Tyler's Cabinet, which succeeded, Mr. Webster was mainly occupied in defending the Whig party from the attacks of its enemies, and the

by several brilliant forensic successes. He was, in 1845, once more returned to Congress, and led the minority in opposition to the precipitate measures that had forced on the Mexican war, but, the war being begun, he facilitated the return to peace, by what the event proved to be the true policy, urging it on energetically to an honourable peace. One of his own sons, a very promising young man, was killed in the war. When Mexico was prostrate, Mr. Webster still opposed the accessions of territory it produced, and which he foresaw must revive discussion on the stumbling-block of Slavery. General Taylor having come to the Presidency in the meantime, it did, of course, excite a bitter struggle whether or not Slavery was to be allowed to take its course in the new territories or to be excluded by law. The fearful excitement and danger into which it plunged the nation has been alluded to above. We shun entering upon the minor features of this era. Sufficient to say that it resulted, as already stated, in Webster throwing the whole weight of his resources in favour of the compromise measures, which, owing to his influence, Mr. Fillmore being President, were enacted, and, so far as the reconciliation of irreconcileable elements can be effected, have settled the matter, if not completely, at least as well as may be. By taking the course he did, Mr. Webster proved his devotion to the public interest more, perhaps, than by any other act of his life, inasmuch as he must have known—he knew well—that he should raise a storm of hostility in the North, and nowhere more than in his own State, Massachusetts, that would effectually damage his Presidential prospects. The result proved the sacrifice, and adds another laurel to his funeral wreath.

It is a curious circumstance, though explicable enough, that whenever the political horizon became overcast, especially in regard to foreign affairs, all eyes, even those of his loudest detractors, turned to Webster as the only pilot to weather the storm. This explains why the action of Mr. Webster, as Secretary of State, was frequently censured in Europe as precipitate. Directly urged by the excited feelings of the nation, it was necessary to overstep the delays behind which diplomacy shelters itself, and bring the matter to an issue one way or other. Any other course is totally at variance with the temperament of the American people. Nor can this be justly cited as a peculiarity of Mr. Webster's statesmanship. A certain degree of bluntness is inseparable from the manners of a busy Democracy, although, doubtless, as annoying to the polished diplomatists of the Old World, as to be jostled by some vigorous young boor who, with blunt apology for the offence, continues on his way. American diplomacy, however precipitate, must be admitted, even by England, to be tempered by a ready accession to the claims of justice when they are made manifest. So the sinfulness of "precipitancy," in such a case, may be safely left to the decision of my Lord Chamberlain Polonius.

The personal appearance of Mr. Webster, in his later years, is familiar—and yet not so—to the reading public of Britain, from the numberless portraits that have been published. We say not so; for, with the exception of one lithograph, published last Autumn, in Boston, United States, from a sketch surreptitiously acquired, and of which we were fortunate enough to secure a copy, that is at the service of any one desiring to reproduce it in this country, we have seen no portrait that at all conveys the expression of the original. The "front of Jove," the deep-set cavernous eyes, the lines that told of energy in repose, could scarcely be portrayed, or convey an idea of the fire, restrained by dignity in action, that caused some one—we forget who—to describe him as "the godlike." The mere outlines of his features are as familiar to Americans as in England are those of "the Duke." In 1808, Mr. Webster married a clergyman's daughter, by whom he had four children, of whom only one, Mr. Fletcher Webster, survives. Some years after the death of his first wife he espoused Miss Caroline C. Roy, who still survives, without family.

The closing hours of the great Statesman's life were in accordance with what might have been expected from a man of his vigour of intellect and warmth of affections. Retaining his faculties to the last, he took part in the religious consolations that were offered him, and addressed words of kindness and condolence to the members of his family and friends in attendance on his bed. Having dismissed them all, he uttered an ejaculation commending his soul to the grace of the Saviour, and closed his eyes for his last sleep with these remarkable words—"On the 24th of October all that is mortal of Daniel Webster will be no more." On the 24th he died. The last scene in the life of Daniel Webster is not the least.

It is impossible to foresee the precise influence that Mr. Webster's death will exert on the future of Ameriran politics. Possibly little. There was no chance of his elevation to the Presidency, and of that he and his friends were aware. It is probably better for his fame that he was spared at his great age the anxieties of the Chief Magistracy. His mission has been accomplished; and without the hazard of any diminution of the lustre that encircles his name, his honoured remains can repose at Marshfield with the fitting epitaph, "Washington the first—Webster the second of Americans." H.

[We owe our best thanks to our correspondent who has so promptly supplied us with the above admirable and copious memoir of the life of one of the greatest of Americans; but with some of his expressions on the Slavery question, it is unnecessary to tell our readers, we do not quite agree.—*Whig.*]

AMERICAN SLAVERY.

To the Editor of the Northern Whig.

SIR: I hope your American correspondent, who furnished you with an article in Tuesday's *Whig*, is not an Irishman, because he lauds one of the greatest renegades from the cause of the abolition of Slavery in the United States of America, the late Hon. Daniel Webster. He vied with Henry Clay (now no more) in base subserviency to Southern slaveholders, in getting the infamous Fugitive Slave Law enacted, which entails so much misery on the negro race, slaves and freemen. No doubt Mr. Webster's services would, he thought, be so highly appreciated by those who make merchandise of their fellow men, that he would be elected to the high office of President of the United States at the next election. However, the Southerners would not trust the apostate, for, at the many meetings held for the purpose of nominating candidates for the Presidency, poor Webster had the fewest votes; and your correspondent says, "there was no chance of his elevation to the Presidency." It is not unlikely that this cruel disappointment, after his sacrifice of character on the altar of Slavery, hastened his exit from this world.

I hope that, at the final judgment, his co-partner in getting the Fugitive Slave Law passed (Henry Clay), will, as well as himself, be pardoned.

Your correspondent says in a note—"The well working of this law (the Fugitive Slave Law) is spoken of only as a means of preventing agitation." The statement is not corroborated by the results, for the noble band of Abolitionists are agitating with double energy—meetings have been held, and resolutions passed, declaring that no obedience shall be yielded to the cruel mandate. The attempt to enforce the Act has been resisted—death has ensued, and not long since a slaveholder lost his life in the attempt to capture a slave on his way to Canada, the asylum of the panting fugitives, the real land of liberty, under the mild sway of Queen Victoria.

The Fugitive Slave Law, imposes a heavy penalty on every one who refuses to aid the Government officers in apprehending a supposed fugitive slave. In several cases freemen of the negro race have been taken, and, on the oath of some base man-stealer, consigned to Slavery.

Allow me to hand you an account of the "noble stand of the Wesleyans." It is as follows: "The New York Wesleyan Conference, at its recent annual meeting, resolved, 'That the Fugitive Slave Law is a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell, and that the unprecedented agitations following the attempt to execute it show that it is abhorrent to humanity as it is antagonistic to the will of God; and we pledge ourselves not to aid in its execution, and to use every effort in our power to secure its repeal, and the adoption of every means consistent with our relations as Christian men and citizens, to overthrow the entire system of Slavery in this nation." I am happy to say that other Ecclesiastical bodies have passed similar resolutions.

The good work goes bravely on. The Honourable Charles Sumner has been lately elected Senator for the State of Massachusetts, in opposition to the interest of Mr. Webster. The Earl of Carlisle, in a preface written by his lordship to an edition of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," says, in referring to Mr. Sumner's election, and the progress the Anti-Slavery Cause is making in the United States: "Within the short interval which has elapsed since my visit to the Union ten years ago, and, from even this distance, it appears to me that I can track the footsteps of no slow progress in the career of this great Cause. Such seems to me the formal proposal of a candidate by the Anti-Slavery party for the next election, to the supreme office of President of the United States—such seems to me the appointment, last year, by the eminently commercial, eminently American State of Massachusetts, to the office of a Senator in Congress, of my much valued friend, Mr. Charles Sumner. In our past hours of friendly intercourse in our walks by the sparkling estuary of Boston, or upon the sunny brow of Bunker's Hill, how little did I, how little did he, dream of such an opening upon his quiet and unostentatious career? And now, while writing these lines, I have received the speech he has recently delivered in Congress on the bearings of the Fugitive Slave Law, which, by the closeness of its logic, and the masculine power of its eloquence, proves to me, now, how all the perfections of his mind have grown up to, and been dilated with, the inspiration of the cause which he has made his own. Indeed, when I rise from reading such a speech as his, or such a book as 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' to which I have ventured to prefix this hurried prelude, I am constrained at once to temper and to dignify my own sentiments by clothing them with appropriate accents from our drama:

> "'Reward them for the noble deed, just Heaven,
> For this one action guard them, and distinguish them
> With signal mercies, and with great deliverance;
> Guard them from wrong, adversity, and shame,
> The poor forsaken ones!
> Shall they be left a prey to savage power;
> Can they lift up their hands in vain,
> Or cry to Heaven for help and not be heard?
> Go on, pursue, assert the sacred cause;
> Stand forth, ye proxies of all-ruling Providence,
> And save the friendless captives from oppression;
> Saints shall assist you with prevailing prayers,
> And warring angels combat at your side.'

"CASTLE-HOWARD, October 9th, 1852. "CARLISLE."

From your consistent advocacy of the rights of all men of every clime and every colour to the enjoyment of freedom, I anticipate your ready assent to insert in your widely circulated journal this communication from your obedient servant,

JAMES STANDFIELD.

BELFAST, November 12, 1852.

AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED BY REV. WM. H. FURNESS,

At the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Fair, Thursday evening, December 16th. 1852.

MY FRIENDS—From the very beginning of your sacred enterprise the impression has very widely existed, and it has not yet by any means disappeared, that you, Abolitionists, are a set of officious, meddling persons, who are bent upon interfering with things that you do not understand, and that do not concern you. Some credit is given you, in the excess of their charity, even by those most violently opposed to you—some credit is given you for good intentions; you mean well, but you are the victims of one idea. You lack a restraining judgment, common sense. You are continually doing and saying extravagant and absurd things, so that almost every step you take is to the injury of your own cause. I think I can remember, although it is some years ago, when I shared in this impression, and thought the Abolitionists a good sort of people, but unwise, imprudent, blind of one eye, seeing only one side. But, saving that it was a comfortable impression that seems to relieve one of the necessity of listening to your troublesome statements and appeals, I do not recollect, and I am utterly at a loss now to conceive, upon what grounds of truth and reason such an impression of you is justified, or how any grown up man or woman can give it any countenance.

The Abolitionists weak, foolish, inconsequent, absurd! Weak, indeed, they are, in point of numbers, and very foolish, if wisdom is synonymous with a multitude. But weak in their words and works? How then, in the name of all that is plain, have these weaklings succeeded again and again in throwing this mighty nation into such fits of alarm and madness? How is it that they have made their 'one idea' the one interesting topic both in Congress and out of it? If they are such egregious fools and madmen, why have they not been left, in their folly and fanaticism, to the pity and contempt of the country? Surely, they who so regard them, and yet fear their influence, convict themselves of still greater weakness, and manifest very little confidence in the intelligence and good of the people at large. It has always been a favourite principle in this democratic country that the people may safely be trusted to judge for themselves what is foolish or wise. It is the fundamental principle of our social institutions, faith in the intelligence of the people. To call the Abolitionists then, fools and fanatics, and yet to be afraid of their influence, is to forsake and renounce this principle. It involves that contempt for the people which is essentially anti-democratic, the very centre and soul of despotism.

So, then, if the Abolitionists are weak and absurd, what are they who are so alarmed at their weakness and absurdity—so alarmed as to be inclined, for instance, to destroy Freedom of Speech, that dearest, that most sacred, most vital of our rights? When that is gone all is lost. Take that away, and you have shed the very life-blood of our freedom. You might as well exhaust the air that encompasses the globe, and by which we live, and then think still to sustain life, as to destroy Freedom of Speech and expect liberty to survive. But the one is as impossible to be done as the other. Modern science is ingenious and miraculous, but it may safely be challenged to propose the chemical combination and to invent the apparatus that shall exhaust the earth's atmosphere. The idea is absurd. But it is not a whit more absurd than to think that in this country and this age of the Printing Press, the Steam Engine and the Telegraph, those agencies that never tire, of sealing up the free lips of men. And yet the thought has been conceived. Southern men have deliberately proposed that the Free States should pass laws for the suppression of Abolition Societies; and Northern men have declared that the agitation of free thoughts and words must, some how or other, be put down. And these suggestions have been made, not by foolish and fanatical people like the Abolitionists, but by men of eminence, men honoured as statesmen, men lauded for the profundity of their wisdom, for the comprehensiveness of their knowledge, men considered to be especially acquainted with the principles and philosophy of our free institutions. Into such absurdities have the wisest and highest in the land been driven through the fear of the Abolitionists.

Again, whether this unpopular handful of men and women are weak or not, let the recent history of the political parties of the country help us to ascertain. A few years ago, the Democrats and Whigs stood fiercely arrayed against each other. There seemed to be an impassible gulf between them that was never to be filled up. There was no measure to the abuse which they heaped upon each other. But the words of the Abolitionists, sounding in the ears of men, from year to year, reached the political world at last, and Whigs and Democrats forgot their quarrels, and joined lovingly, as against a common enemy, and laboured together to erect a defence against the weakness and folly of Abolition. And what was there too costly or sacred to be given up to strengthen the barrier which they reared? Of what precious materials was it composed? The Compromise measures which were devised to save the Union, and to guard the country against the Abolitionists, were founded upon the broken fragments of Manhood and Honour, of Freedom and Humanity. Not only were the first principles of our whole civil order surrendered, but the plainest precepts of our common Caristianity, the sacred dictates of Nature, the supreme law of God, all were set at naught; and the idea that there is any higher law than the ignorant enactments of man, was laughed to scorn. The corner-stone of the whole impious fabric was the Fugitive Slave Law, which forbids us to do, under penalty of fine and imprisonment, what Christ and God have most emphatically commanded. Here it was not simple freedom of speech, but it was the Eternal Will of God, written in the sacred instincts of human compassion, that was sought to be abolished; and this, too, in the nineteenth century of the Christian Era, in an age of unprecedented light! Was there ever folly greater, more monstrous than this? O how mighty must that doctrine of Abolition be, which has driven our legislators, in the alarm which it has awakened, into such blind and insane excesses! It must be like the cry of the god Pan, which, as it was fabled, drove men mad.

If I knew nothing directly of the word and work of the Abolitionists, I should infer from their effects, that they possessed some unknown element of power. How else could their opponents, wise and mighty men, and strong in numbers and office, be so bereft of reason and humanity, aye, and of the most ordinary sagacity? For the measures that have been taken to extinguish the strange, despised fire of Anti-Slavery, have been as fuel to the flame. It was the Fugitive Slave Law that led Harriet Heecher Stowe to write *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, speaking with such miraculous power to the universal heart of the world. So that now the voice of the Abolitionists have gone sounding in all the cottages and palaces of Europe; and the women of England, as we just hear, meet in one of her princeliest mansions to prepare to send an earnest and united appeal to their sisters in this country in behalf of this mean and hated thing, Abolitionism. This movement, by the way, will be denounced as another specimen of British interference. Nevertheless, it is a sight lovely in the eyes of heaven, when at last the highest bend down with words of sympathy to the lowest. The coronets of those high-born women grow dim before the beauty and grace of this action.

In view of the powerful influence which you, my friends, and those with whom you are associated, have exercised, seeing to what madness and absurdity your opponents, the law-givers of the land, have been hurried in their eagerness to silence you, we must infer that there is some cause for this; there must be some method in your madness, some strength in your weakness, some wisdom in your folly.

And wherein dwells the power of the Abolitionists, but in the simple truth? They insist that the slave is a man, and our brother, and that it is a great sin before God to treat him as a chattel; to be bought and sold, and chained and whipped, like a beast of burden. They demand the abolition of that bondage in which three millions of our brethren are held in this Christian land. They demand it upon the broad and eternal grounds of Justice and Humanity. In the name of God and of man they demand it. They say within themselves: What right have we to live comfortably and at our ease, while our poor friendless brothers and sisters are crushed down to the earth from the cradle to the grave? It shall not be, so far, at least, as we are concerned. We will and we do protest against this most cruel wrong. We give ourselves—we devote ourselves to whatever fear or danger may be incurred in pleading and expostulating with the oppressors of their brethren. In thus protesting, we harm no one. Of course those who do not wish to hear the truth, and whose comfort or interest is endangered by the truth, will rage against us; but we will not, and shall not, do even them any injury; for the rage which they show we do not create; it is only the evil which was in them coming out to the surface, and it must so come out before it can be eradicated from their hearts. The frenzy of passion into which the assertion of God's plain truth throws them, is a necessary stage in the progress of their cure. So that in protesting against Slavery, we may hope, as we believe in the all-redeeming power of truth, to benefit both the slaveholder and the slave. At all events, we must keep true, generous hearts in our bosoms, come what may. For this is what we are here in God's beautiful earth for; not to go clothed in purple and fine linen, and fare sumptuously every day, but to feel for the suffering and the enslaved as enslaved with them; to do justly and love mercy, and walk humbly before God. This is our business and our mission here in the world. We are sent hither in all ways to bear witness to the Truth, and we must hold ourselves ready to suffer all things, and to die for this work.

Inasmuch as the Abolitionists have this aim, in so far as they are moved by this spirit, they have a true aim, and they are moved by the Truth. And Truth is of God, and is the power and wisdom of God to the confounding of all opposition, to the emancipation of the oppressed, to the abolition of all wrong, to the salvation of mankind. I recognise in Abolitionism a proclamation of the highest law of nature and of God, of the central precept of the religion of Jesus, of that simple truth upon which the welfare of the world depends. And so regarding it, I find it easy enough to understand how it is so powerful, and why it is that it makes men so angry. The fact is, they may condemn and deny it with their lips, but in their hearts they know it is true all the while. And this it is that rages and maddens them, that they cannot convince themselves that it is false; and there is nothing left for them but to get into a rage and give themselves up to a blind impulse of passion. But all this frantic violence against the truth avails nothing, so long as there is one man on earth who is faithful to it. The rage of the opponents of truth may drive them to destroy its last friend and advocate; but his blood will speak for the truth more effectually even than his living voice; and truth will become only the more powerful for the efforts made to destroy it. The upholders of Slavery are now apparently carrying it with a high hand. It would hardly seem possible that the iniquity of the Fugitive Slave Law should be exceeded. And yet we do not know. From what has recently occurred in New York, and from the language of some of the daily papers there, it would appear that the idea is contemplated of turning the Free States, not merely into hunting grounds for running down a slave now and then, but into markets for the regular trade in human flesh. There is no certainty that this outrage will not be consummated. Nevertheless, Truth is mighty enough to encounter and to conquer even so terrible an evil as that would be. So long as there is one true man on earth, so long as the memory of one true man lingers in the world, God is still in communication with it, and the Wrongs which reign in it are every moment liable to a disastrous overthrow. And as there is a God in heaven, he will not suffer the truth to want those who will be prepared to die for it.

At all events, the reward of the service of Truth lies not in what you may be able to accomplish in the world, but in the service itself. Though you should see no good, but evil only, resulting from infidelity, still you would have an unspeakable joy in yourselves, in the simple consciousness of being faithful. This is an abundant over-payment for all our labours. They will do one thing certainly—elevate and ennoble your own being. Whether the world has understood you or not, you have given it the example of your own fidelity.

But, as I observed in the outset, the Abolitionists are said to meddle with what does not concern them. Meddling with what does not concern them! And pray, does it concern us, if not the great and venerable cause of Human Freedom? What business have we in the world at all, if it is not our business to feel for a weak and injured fellow-man? We are intruders into existence—we cumber God's earth; we are not wanted here, but are in the way, if we can see millions trodden down into the dust and hold our peace, and not care for them. As we are human, we are born to cherish our human sympathies; and everything in us that is honourable and noble calls to us to plead for the weak against the mighty.

But further, people talk about Abolitionists interfering, as if Slavery, the thing which they interfere with, were the very pattern and model of a modest minding of one's own business; as if it kept itself to itself with the most scrupulous respect for the rights and feelings of others. Why, Slavery is in its whole form and essence, an insolent, outrageous interference. It is nothing else. It meddles most cruelly with the very bodies and souls of its victims, leading them with iron fetters, lacerating them with stripes, denying them all knowledge, brutalizing their most sacred affections. And not only so, it interferes with matchless insolence with the whole administration of the Government. It takes possession of the Presidential chair, and will suffer no man to occupy it who will not surrender to it every dictate of manly feeling; and even when he has paid the costly fee, and it has been pocketed, it is more likely than not that he is turned away with contempt. It interferes with all the offices of the Government, from the highest to the lowest; it meddles with the dearest rights of freemen. It comes here into our political organizations, into our public assemblies, into our very places of worship, and undertakes to dictate to us what we shall talk about! To charge the Abolitionists with being meddlesome, when, at great personal hazard, they attempt to abate such an enormous nuisance, why, it is as preposterous as for the highwayman to complain of the traveller at whose breast he points a pistol, and to call him a meddling, interfering fellow, because he tries to knock the pistol from the robber's hand.

Notwithstanding the case is so plain, there are some worthy people who really think that the Abolitionists go out of their way, and interest themselves in other people's business. They say to you: "O, let it alone! why do you trouble yourself about what is none of your affair? mind your own concerns." Now this advice sounds very plausibly. But it has one radical defect. It is simply and absolutely impossible to be followed. Slavery will not and cannot be let alone. There are thousands and thousands, I know, all over the free States, who flatter themselves that they are not meddling with other people's concerns; that they are minding their own business; that they are letting Slavery alone; that they have nothing to do with it. And yet these are, of all persons, the very persons who are meddling with this matter in the most fatal manner. They never say a word about it. They never open their lips against Slavery. They keep silent. But the fact is, Silence is the very thing that Slavery asks of us. This is all it wants of us. It is the most solid and substantial assistance that we can possibly give it. If the Northern people will only hold their tongues, everything will be done by them that can be done, to strengthen and promote the bondage of the despised African. When and while the North was silent—and it was for the space of some 50 years—Slavery grew mightily and prevailed; the slaves increased from thousands to millions, and the number of the slave States was doubled. So, then, what is called letting it alone is rendering it the most effectual help, and they who disclaim meddling with it are its most powerful supporters. The South does not want Northern men to advocate Slavery, because it knows that they will overdo the matter, and spoil the cause by a zeal, that renders such advocacy too contemptible. All that is wanted of us, as the most potent safeguard of the iniquity, is our silence. The slaveholders do not wish us to do any thing, only to keep hush. Even when they insisted upon this new Fugitive Slave Law, it was not because they wanted to recover their lost slaves, for since its passage fifty have escaped where one has ever been attempted to be recovered. That law was wanted only as a sign and security of the acquiescence of the North in the continued existence of the slave institutions. It was wanted only as a brand upon the North, expressive of Northern subjection, just like the brand upon the shoulder of a black slave. Yes, our acquiescence in the sin, signified most expressively by our silence, is not only the most powerful support we can give to Slavery—it is, I solemnly believe before God, the one thing upon which its very existence depends at this hour. And the South believes so too, if we may judge from her frantic threats whenever the silence of Northern submission is broken by the slightest whisper of discontent. Such being the case, I repeat that Slavery *cannot* be let alone. And the silent people are not letting it alone. They are its mightiest supporters, and it is the dead weight of Northern Silence that balances the enormous Wrong, and keeps it upright and steady. The instant that silence is broken, it begins to shake and swing like any rag in the wind, and totters to its fall.

Looking upon the matter in this light, I cannot but regard the Abolitionists offensive as their position is, as acting very much on the defensive. They virtually say to the South, "Our purpose is the Abolition of Slavery; but keep your Slaves if you will, and if you can, we are not going to help you keep them. We cannot consent to extinguish those instincts of Humanity, without which a man is no better than a dog or a wolf; we cannot give up our free thoughts and free speech, without which we are as truly slaves as the most abject bondmen on your plantations. We cannot do these things for any consideration whatever, no, not for gold, for popularity, or for life, and least of all, to ratify the security of your slave property. It would be too base. You yourselves would despise us in your hearts. You could not help it. Why, it would be better to be slaveholders at once, if that were the inevitable and fearful alternative. If we were slaveholders, we could at least comfort ourselves with dreams of setting our slaves free. We could treat them with the greatest humanity. We could resolve, if they ran away, that we would let them go. We could do everything for them but tell them they were free. But to be Northern freemen supporting Slavery, suppressing every manly thought, every human feeling, every true word, that their fellow men may be treated like chattels—there is nothing meaner than that. We wonder whether there is a slave, or a slave-dealer, in all the South who is looked upon there with a profounder contempt than is felt for Northern men supporting the inhuman institution. We do not wonder that it is so difficult to make the people of the South understand the humane motive and purpose of the Abolitionists, when the long and general acquiescence of the North in the existence of the great Wrong, signified by our silence, has given them such an illustration of Northern character, authorizing the belief that, for a comfortable living and a profitable trade, we are ready to barter every honourable attribute of our manhood. How could the South expect any good to come from so much servility?

Since silence is so powerful in protecting and perpetuating Slavery, it is plain that the agency upon which you, my friends rely, the publication of truth, is the great instrument under God, for the overthrow of the giant iniquity. Yes, the truth, the simple truth spoken honestly, boldly, and for its own pure and blessed sake—yes, you need nothing but this: you ask no aid of the civil arm, no political management. Let politics go their own ignorant way. They weaken all whom they touch. But truth, flying all abroad upon "that wing of words that agitateth nations"—that shall break all chains and soften human hearts, though they now be harder than the metal of which chains are made. The aspect of the political world here and abroad is, at this present time, dark enough. The French nation lies paralytic. Hungary, that a little while ago leaped forth before our gaze and dazzled our eyes with the splendour of her attitude, has fallen back into the darkness from which she emerged. We look all over Europe, and behold! there is no man, no man to liberate and guide its suffering myriads. Never was there such a dearth of men of commanding ability. At home the great leading parties have conspired to perpetuate human bondage, and Freedom is put under a ban. Nevertheless, the weapon of your warfare, Truth, is gleaming far and wide over the world, like the sword of an archangel. All the wonderful inventions of human art are serving this glorious end, the diffusion of Truth, and in the whole history of literature there is no fact so parallel the circulation of that story which one of our country-women has cast about the world, and the wrongs of our poor Southern slaves. The echoes of that appeal of truth are coming back to us in the music of women's voices from the abodes of wealth and rank.

How magnificently has the poor printer redeemed the pledge which he gave to the world a little more than twenty years ago! "I have taken my ground," said William Lloyd Garrison then, "I will not abate an inch, *and I will be heard.*" And has not he been heard from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Thames to the Danube? What are all the eloquent speeches that have been delivered in Congress and out of it, all these Uncle Tom's Cabins, and these Addresses of the women in England to the women of America—what are they but the echoes of that one honest voice, reverberating through the world. It was but this morning that I saw in a fancy shop, a German toy designed to caricature Mr. Garrison. Its pretensions to wit and ingenuity were exceedingly small. It represented our friend as holding in his arms a black babe, an attitude in which, I do not doubt, he is perfectly willing to appear before the world; for he carries the wrongs of that whole afflicted race in his heart, and the world is welcome, for all that he has to object, to make what occasion for ridicule out of it they can. But what a tribute is it to his power! *He* must be a man of no ordinary influence whom the toy-factories of a distant land are busy in trying to make ridiculous. All things are combining to attest the sufficiency—the omnipotence of Truth. In ten thousand silent and unnoticed ways it is stealing over the earth like the air and the light. It is, insensibly it may be, but surely, changing the minds and hearts of men, undermining the foundations of the most ancient wrongs, breathing life and strength into all that is true and good; accomplishing that new creation at which the morning stars shall again sing together and all the sons of God shout for joy.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

*** *All communications for the paper, and letters relating to its pecuniary concerns should be addressed to* SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, *New-York.*

††† *Donations to the Treasury of the* AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY *may be forwarded to* FRANCIS JACKSON, *Treasurer, at Boston; or to* SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, *New-York.*

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JANUARY 6, 1853.

ADDRESS OF THE ENGLISH WOMEN.

IT is not likely that the Duchess of Sutherland and those ladies associated with her in the Address to the Women of this country looked for the immediate Abolition of Slavery as the result of their affectionate exhortations, but they undoubtedly expected that the appeal would excite popular attention, and hoped that it would lead many minds to serious reflection. The expectation, at least, is already realized, for the faithful echo of public opinion, the press, is cackling as minatory and indignant all over the land as if a challenge to a war of Amazons had been hurled at our peaceful dames, and it behooved all gentlemen of gallantry to exercise the prerogative of protecting and defending *their* women. As out of discussion and agitation, where there is right in question, necessarily comes good, so, without doubt, will it be on this occasion; and though many bewitching smiles and softly murmured thanks will reward Mr. Editor everywhere for his powerful and crushing leader whereby his fair country-women are put, without trouble to themselves, upon the true ground of defence, and are ready now to chase a thousand Duchesses and put ten thousand Countesses to flight; still, doubtless, also here and there will be found a woman who presumes to commit the impropriety of doing her own thinking, and will consider whether My Lady's exhortation is not worth consideration, and whether its force be really weakened by the fact, that her husband's aunt, or mother, or grandmother, was, half a century ago, unkind to her English tenants, or that there are many most unfortunate and wretched women in London, or that the social distinctions in Great Britain involve a great deal of suffering and wrong. So, perhaps, the hope also of the Memorialists will be justified, even if but very few should see that 'able editors'' rejoinders, however just they might be if it were to the Five Points and Corlies' Hook that the English women presumed to call attention, are quite wide of the purpose when poverty and social inequalities in Great Britain are made an offset for American Slavery.

To our mind much of the force of this Address is in its temperate character, and in its careful avoidance of all controversial questions. The Memorialists evidently mean to take the ground that it is not for them to dictate to those whom they address to follow either this or that course, but simply to urge them to *do something*. The most active of these ladies know very well that the Anti-Slavery cause, in this country, has already taken its position and marked out its course, and they naturally enough conclude that, should their exhortations incline the hearts of any of the people to exertion in behalf of the slaves, they would easily enough, and without advice from abroad, see how that exertion could be made the most effective. Were the work to be done by themselves, doubtless the Memorialists would have set forth a manifesto of the principles by which they meant to be governed; but as they were only exhorting others to that work, they content themselves with exhortation. On every account, it seems to us, it was wise to take this position.

But it appears that to a certain class of people in England, who ought to be the last to do anything to lessen the force of this appeal, its terms are not so satisfactory. It is stated in the London papers that a correspondence has taken place between Samuel Gurney, Joseph Sturge, G. W. Alexander, and others, and the Earl of Shaftesbury, who is censured by them for the allusion in the Address to the difficulties and dangers of immediate emancipation. They propose to substitute another Address, of which they are the authors, to which modest proposition the Earl gives a courteous negative, advising his advisers to circulate their own Address and get what signatures they can, as no harm, but rather good, will be done, by two Addresses instead of one. Probably, however, this excellent counsel will not be taken. It is not so much that Mr. Gurney and his companions care to do an Anti-Slavery work, as that they wish to thrust themselves into a circle from which their social position excludes them, and at the same time to gain the credit of other people's labour. Our readers will recognise here an attempt similar to that which was exposed in our last No. in relation to the efforts of the Bristol and Clifton Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society to put the English people upon their guard against American pro-slavery Clergymen. When the thing was done, and the credit of it was worth claiming, the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society stepped forarwd and impudently seized it.

Below will be found the letter of the Earl of Shaftesbury to Samuel Gurney and his friends:

To Messrs. Sturge and Alexander:

Gentlemen: I am much obliged to you for the kind letter I have had the honour to receive from you.

I am fully aware of the great zeal and exertions of that party who assert the necessity and safety of immediate abolition, nor do I deny that they formed their opinion on very strong and cogent arguments.

But our present purpose is less to discuss the question of the time of abolition than the mode by which we can obtain it at all. It is a sad thing that we should appear to be disunited. We are not so in fact. We all alike abhor and denounce that iniquitous system of Slavery which disgraces and desolates so many regions of the civilized world.

My own views, as far as I am able to form any, and those of many with whom I am associated, are very moderate. *An interval of three years would be ample to make all necessary preparations for the admission of the slave to every right and enjoyment of a freeman.*

I heartily approve the course you propose. Obtain as many signatures as you can to your address, which requires immediate abolition. We will do the same by ours, which admits that it should be progressive. Both of them may then go together, for, with the exception of one passage, the addresses will be identical—identical in spirit, sentiment, and expression, and differing only in the subordinate consideration whether a short [illegible] should be allowed for the purpose of preparation.

I am, gentlemen, your very obedient servant,

SHAFTESBURY.

THE SLAVE SCHOONER ADVANCE AND SLAVE SCHOONERS GENERALLY.

THE schooner Advance, of New Orleans, which we mentioned, last week, as having been seized at Port Praya, by Commodore Gregory, has arrived at Norfolk. The mate and four of her seamen were sent home in her, but the Captain was not taken. This case comes in good time for the party just now dominant wherewith to test their strength and their principles. There is no branch of commerce in which the great democratic right of Free Trade is so outraged by our laws as that, for being engaged in which the Advance was seized. Had her Captain contented himself with the legitimate traffic permitted by the laws of his country, he, instead of skulking abroad to escape a felon's doom, might show himself in Norfolk, an honoured and honourable citizen, and his vessel, instead of lying at a wharf of that city awaiting confiscation, might, as proudly as any other ship, fling her stars and stripes to the breeze, and await her cargo. And this difference exists because of an absurd distinction in our laws which makes that piracy in one part of the world which is a perfectly legitimate, honourable and most profitable trade at home. If the schooner Advance may rightfully and legally take a cargo of slaves from Norfolk to New Orleans—and none but a few impracticable and fanatical persons deny that—there is no reason, in the nature of things, why she should not take a cargo of the same sort from the Coast of Guinea to the port of Havana. To affix a penalty to this latter speculation is, we contend, a violation of the first principle of Free Trade.

But if the penalty annexed to the Foreign Traffic was only intended as a measure of protection to the Domestic Trade, as we all know it was, the subject is still one which calls for the hand of Democratic reform. Protection is not a Democratic principle, and the party will not be true to itself if it permits this grossest violation of Free Trade to exist a moment after it comes into power. The Trade that is so honourable at home that there is not a 'first family' in all Virginia that is not directly or indirectly engaged in it, ought not to be branded as a felony when it happens to be carried on on the other side of the Gulf Stream. So invidious a distinction is a disgrace to the Statute-Book—a stain upon our glorious flag—a violation of our republican institutions—and contrary even to the comity which binds together our sister States. There is no other domestic production, we believe, which is protected by an absolute prohibition of the introduction of the foreign article, and it is high time so gigantic a monopoly were destroyed. There is no reason why Louisiana, and Mississippi, and Texas, should depend for the staple of their labour upon Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Kentucky, but, on the contrary, every reason why they should be permitted to get the article wherever they can buy it cheapest. The protection is a positive and direct injury to the people of these States, and should be tolerated no longer. And if there be any truth in the great principles of Free Trade for which the Democrats have contended so long, it is an injury, though not so immediately obvious, to the producing States also. But, at any rate, whatever may be said on this point, and though it may be held unwise to interfere immediately with a state of things that has existed so long, on the other point—the absurd distinction between the Foreign and Domestic Trade—there can be no difference of opinion. No greater outrage could be inflicted upon the feelings of our Southern brethren of Norfolk than to bring in there the schooner Advance, with her crew in chains, and she branded as a pirate because it was proposed to use her in a traffic which makes the wealth of the State of Virginia. We have no right to jeopard the stability of the Union by so gratuitous an insult to any portion of its citizens. The moral influence of such laws cannot be overrated, and we cannot tell when the stigma which they tend to fix upon a portion of our people may become indelible. It is time there was an overhauling of our Treaties on this subject with Foreign Powers, and the Monroe doctrine carried out in this relation as well as in others. Europe should be taught that we have our own notions and our own institutions, and her rose-water sentimentality should not be permitted longer to taint our laws. We hope, sincerely hope, that the matter may receive attention in the proper quarter, and, if we have any influence with Gen. Pierce and the Democratic party, we shall look to see the subject noticed in the Inaugural Message, and immediately brought up for the consideration of Congress.

It is lawful to learn from an enemy, says a Latin proverb, and there never were a people who have so much reason to be thankful for knowledge from that quarter as the Abolitionists. The Slaveholders and their abettors never open their mouths, on the subject of Slavery, but they teach us something, and the strongest arguments against them and their cause are always of their own making. The Richmond (Va.) *Republican*, no longer ago than Wednesday of last week, has done us a good turn of this sort, in showing, that it is a worse punishment to a man to make a slave of him than to send him to States-Prison. A Penitentiary is not considered a Paradise anywhere, but to understand the full force of the *Republican's* admission it should be remembered that a Southern prison is to prisons elsewhere what they are to decently comfortable homes. Here is the *Republican's* paragraph. It contains some other matter for reflection suggested by the name of that paper and the proposition it advocates, but its estimate of Slavery is the point to which we particularly call attention.

A GOOD SUGGESTION.—Since the subject of removing free negroes from this Commonwealth has been under consideration by the Legislature, a variety of plans have been suggested, the most, if not all, of which, from certain causes, are considered impracticable. The agitation of the question, however, has induced many philanthropic gentlemen to give the matter serious thought, and we are now inclined to the opinion that one of our own citizens has hit upon the proper method to accomplish all that the most ardent admirer of the scheme can desire. That there are many intelligent, honest, upright, industrious free coloured persons in our community, none will doubt who are acquainted with them, and we do not hesitate to say that no one wishes them to be driven from their native homes. The aim of all seems to be to get at the vicious and corrupt ones, and to accomplish this, the gentleman to whom we have alluded has most unquestionably hit upon the proper plan, viz: "*Instead of sending free negroes to the Penitentiary for crime, to sell them into Slavery, whenever they are convicted of a State prison offence, and to apply the receipts from such sales towards defraying the expenses of all free persons who may voluntarily desire to go to Liberia.*" By the passage of such a law and its strict enforcement, the State would soon get rid of the corrupt portion of that race, and the honest and correct ones would then be far better off than they are now. At first blush, this plan seems to us to be just what is necessary at this time to allay the feeling existing against the free negroes—to get rid of those characters who are so obnoxious to a slaveholding community, and

Having noted the estimate of the great departed, taken by mere lawyers, politicians and worldly persons, by men of like passions with himself, I was curious to see how his life and character would show from the highest stand point of evangelical godliness, from the chair of the professor of *natural and revealed religion* Passing over the rhetorical part of the eulogy, which would scandalize the "Rusurban" Dr. Cox by the paucity of its religious phrases and scriptural allusions, we turn naturally to the opinions expressed of the man, his conduct and destiny. Here they follow:

"As in the old Roman legend, Romulus, by apotheosis, became Quirinus, dying as a king, that he might come back to the faith of his embarrassed and struggling people as a Divinity, so now with us. We have lost a Statesman, but we have gained a Sage. And for generations to come, neither President, nor Senate, nor Judiciary Bench shall wield half the power of this giant shade. Death has crowned him more than Emperor. He sits now on Olympian heights. His opinions have swelled into oracles. His words which before were battles, shall henceforth be victories. Not but that our fondess for him would long have stayed the stroke by which he has been swept away. But since he had filled up so roundly the appointed measure of human life, and had immensely more than filled all ordinary measures of human greatness and glory, and the hour had struck for him to go, it is with loftiest salutations and a solemn joy that we dismiss him to his large inheritance of power on earth and blessedness in Heaven."

The doctrine of this passage is sufficiently explicit, though, from the artistic blending of the rhetorical figures, it never would become distinctly apparent *what form* of the heretofore prevailing religions our professor teaches. From the "Olympian Heights" our deified "Quirinus" will henceforth utter "oracles," to which the dogmas of *natural* and *revealed religion* must conform themselves as they may. Our professor will doubtless be able to reconcile these *oracles* from "*Olympus*" with the *oracles* from *Olivet*, or combine them together in an æsthetic eclecticism.

"The grand charm of Mr. Webster's biography," says the eloquent professor, "consists in this, that he was so entirely and intensely American." This very definite statement is more than once repeated. "A life more purely American was never lived on this continent." "The whole make and whole genius of him was American." America has produced its share of varieties of human character. The American breed is too mongrel for scientific analysis. It is hard to see wherein Jonathan Edwards, Joe Smith, or General Jackson were not as American as Webster. If it is meant that he embodied the peculiar national virtues of thrift, sagacity and energy, the statement would be too obviously untrue. If that his opinions, modes of thought and mental culture corresponded with the popular notions and style of his times, there is scarce a notable person in our history of whom it might not be more safely affirmed than of him. Our orator did not mean either, that he monopolized the greatest portion of our national infirmity of boasting, effrontery and imposture. In this sense, Barnum and Ossian E. Dodge are more intensely American than he.

The accredited charges against Mr. Webster's morals are half denied, half admitted, in this eulogy, but another than the ordinary standard of judgment is claimed for him. "Great men must needs have great susceptibility to evil. The fire within burns through." These seem to be propositions from the departments of *natural* religion—very *natural*—and vary somewhat from those of the revealed. When David's "fire within burned through," there came a Nathan, professor of *natural and revealed religion* in his day, or what poor substitute they had for these, and reproved him.

The address furnishes ample vindication for the treachery of the 7th of March. That which our orator concedes to have been the "tragedy of his life," the self-inflicted "wound" in his conscience, of which he at last died, he palliates and exculpates. The insensate clamour about the dissolution of the Union, in the eyes of the professor of *natural and revealed religion*, was a sufficient reason why he should "change the whole aspect, if not the whole ground, of his action." There had been such clamour before, and he had not heeded it. Why should he heed it then? Are the people to dip their hands in the most stupendous villanies to save the form of government? If the continuance of the Union depends upon the government lending sanction to so hideous a crime as slaveholding, the Union, it seems to me, should be among the first things that a *natural* and *revealed religion* would seek to overthrow. A religion that would not oppose such an organized injustice would never be, either for the good of men or the honour of God, worth revealing at all.

The most interesting feature of the eulogy is its endorsement of the Christian character of the great American, not, by the way, that any man should wish to add to the bitterness of his earthly punishment, but as presenting a new phase of *natural* and *revealed religion*, and on account of the highly favourable inferences, that may be drawn from the fact for other persons. I really hope all the clergymen who have, during the last few months, so liberally compromised the terms of salvation, will not play part and cause with us in a matter of the last importance to our souls. If salvation has really come down to suit the abilities of men of moderate means (and have we not had ample assurances of doctors of divinity and professors of *natural* and *revealed religion* that the market has taken this downward tendency), I hope it will not be run up again to the old exorbitant rates as soon as purchasers appear. Men have heretofore been exhorted to close with the conditions of salvation at once, as they would never have a better opportunity; but it is evident now that those who have waited till the present time, though they have run some risk, can make much better trade than they ever could before, and have quite vindicated their sagacity. The children of this world *are* wiser in their generation than the children of light. If we have had fair notice that hereafter it is to make no difference about a man's prospects for heaven, and the genuineness of his religious experience, that he is licentious, intemperate, venal and ambitious, and hotly pursues, by guilty purchases, the honours of this world to the very brink of the grave, men's feelings should no longer be hurt on these matters every time they go into church "Life, Life, Death, Death! How curious it is!" Might not this have been uttered in prophetic contemplation of the *curious* eulogies of the clergy?

F.

Domestic Correspondence.

FROM OUR BOSTON CORRESPONDENT.

NO. CXVII.

THE ARGUMENT.—*The Correspondent being Short of time, and unable to index this valuable Epistle, referreth it to the wisdom of his readers, commending it to them to be read, pondered and inwardly digested, assuring them it will be for their edification and growth in goodness, &c., &c.*

BOSTON, January 3d, 1853.

A HAPPY NEW YEAR to you and your readers, and a many of them! Especially to all those that have paid up their subscriptions and have put themselves in a condition to enjoy the delights of this hebdomadal with a good conscience. If not, let them at once amend this matter, for, verily, they will find that like other virtues it is its own exceeding great reward. If your New Year's Day were not better got up than ours, it must have been *ratherish* a failure. It was as wet, freezy, uncomfortable, or what the English call as "nasty" a day, as Winter could well muster to throw at a Free and Enlightened Citizen. It was of the less general consequence to us, because it has been found impossible (though often attempted) to engraft your good old Dutch custom of New Year Visiting on our Puritan Stock. We have become reconciled to "our best friend" Plum Porridge (whatever that may be); we are ready to subscribe to all the Articles, be they Thirty-Nine or Forty (which Theodore Hook was ready to do, when he went to Cambridge, if required), that go to make up the Creed of Mince Pie; we have long since ceased to

"Blaspheme Custard through the Nose,"

and we even dress out our Puritan Chapels in evergreens and other popish vanities; but we have never succeeded in engrafting New Year upon our Institutions. It does not agree with the Yankee Constitution. So it was of less matter to us, in a general way, than to you Gothamites, to whom it must be a serious evil that the day should be bad.

It would have been more obliging to the Bazaar if the day had been a trifle better. I am afraid Santa Claus is not an Abolitionist, for he has been very cross-grained and unaccommodating this year. In spite of him, however, the Bazaar has had unprecedented success, at least, better than for several years past. Perhaps in the Texas year, when all the world and (what was more to the purpose in our case) *his wife* were on the Anti-Slavery side of the fence, the receipts might have been greater. But since that marplot of a Garrison went and drove away our best customers by the Commination Service he read over the American Union, the Fair has never been more productive. The Hall (Horticultural Hall, in School Street) was smaller than any employed since the days of Amory Hall, and was not large enough for the proper display of the goods on hand; but, still, it was the best that was to be had, and did very well, in many respects. It was more central than either used in former years and of easier and pleasanter access. Great numbers of people pass through the Street and by the door, and more or less were, undoubtedly, enticed in by the convenience of the lounge. And many who came to lounge, if not to sneer, we may hope remained to *pay*. The attendance of purchasers was never better, and there was, throughout, a lively business carried on. It was to have closed, regularly, last Saturday night, but is to hold an extra Session, for the transaction of unfinished business, to-morrow. So I cannot inform you of the gross receipts. I believe they exceeded thirty-five hundred dollars up to Saturday night.

The Hall is a very handsome one, well finished, lofty and well lighted, so that the necessity of *trimming* it with evergreens and other devices to cover up shabbiness, or to reduce space, was superseded. This was a great relief to all concerned, as it used to be a work of three days, and very hard work, too, to get Faneuil Hall fit for use and presentable. The rent was also considerably less, so that the authorities of the Bazaar were not dissatisfied with their arrangement, on the whole. The display of goods was never finer, nor the contributions from abroad more beautiful or abundant. Purchasers, generally, had the satisfaction of knowing that they got their pennyworth for their penny; and, though so much was taken away, there seemed to be almost as much left. Uncle Tom, no doubt, is to be thanked for some portion of this result, as far as the British Islands and France were concerned. The new interest about that remarkable work had excited in the American Slaves found, doubtless, relief in this direction, to a degree. Still, the great bulk of assistance that was sent to them in this shape came from long-tried and well-known friends, who needed no excitement of Romance to keep alive or to awaken their sympathies for the Slaves. They understand the cause in all its bearings too well, and have devoted themselves to its advancement too intelligently, not to be depended upon, under all circumstances. The American contributions, of course, were not materially affected by this or any other extrinsic cause, and were of their usual excellence and abundance.

The folly of Websterism, transient as it was in its nature and fast passing away, had not been so entirely extinguished as to be without its effect on the Anti Slavery market. Unluckily, though Websterism was not universal and by no means embraced the best part of the community, it did absorb a very considerable share of the wealthy and expensive portion of it. A good many persons who used to be regular customers have been driven away for two or three years, or have only made Nicodemus visits when they thought no man (or woman) saw them, would have ventured into the bottomless abyss as readily as into Horticultural Hall. Still, the Bazaar has too substantial merits to fall back upon to be materially affected by the withdrawal of the patronage of any *clique* or class, and is sure of the substantial success it deserves. It has been very amusing to watch the overflowings of patriotic indignation which the Address of the Stafford House Meeting of Ladies has occasioned. The newspapers have been filled with scarcely anything else, and a very excellent impulse has been given to the agitation of the question. Nothing could prove more conclusively the hypocrisy of the assertions, which used to be heard on all sides, that it was only the harsh and denunciatory language of the Abolitionists that hindered everybody from coming to the Redemption of the Slaves. Here is an Address, certainly as mild and temperate as language can make it, expressing no self-righteous spirit, and as conciliatory towards slaveholders and their apologists as is at all compatible with an Anti-Slavery utterance, and yet it excites as much wrath as if written by Garrison himself.

This is greatly, if not entirely, owing to the rank of the ladies taking the initiative in this measure. Of all *snobs*, your Yankee (using the word in its European sense for every free and independent American) is the *snobbiest*. There is no such hunter of *tufts*, no such devourer of toads. But when they are at home, they turn their energies of this nature in the direction demanded by the wants of this country. Men who, in London, would roll in the kennel to be admitted to the housekeeper's room or the butler's pantry of Stafford House, can sneer in Boston at the Duchess of Sutherland and at the cheap philanthropy of the English Aristocracy. This is what the American Aristocracy requires, and these same natural parasites make haste to supply the demand. But I find I am beginning to preach and must skip down from the pulpit with all speed. I will, however, say that all Abolitionists are desirous of having the Stafford House Address forwarded with any quantity of signatures affixed, even though it may be of a lower pitch than they think the case would bear. For it will show, what they have always said, that it is not their manner, but their subject—not their words, but their meaning—not their form, but their substance that is the true occasion of their being so well hated. Lord Shaftesbury will find himself put in the same category with George Thompson, if he undertake to touch on Slavery, even with the daintiest of primrose kids.—D. Y.

Congressional.

DEBATE ON CUBA, IN THE HOUSE.

THE question of the Acquisition of New Territory came up incidentally in the House on Monday, and the following debate ensued, which we copy, as everything touching the Annexation of Cuba has, just now, a special interest:

MR. VENABLE spoke as to our foreign relations. He said that they who have watched recent events must be satisfied that a very important change has taken place in public opinion, in relation to matters which deeply concern the interests of our country. There was a time when it was supposed we had territory enough on which to employ our capital and labour. He approved of the annexation of Texas, and sanctioned the acquisition of Louisiana, because it commanded the wealth of the Mississippi. But in this age of progress we have heard it said, in high places, that we have the capacity of swallowing Mexico, then annexing the island thereto, such is our power of expansion. And again, we have seen men chalk out an immense area of the world, throughout which liberty is to be propagated. He was against intervention of all sorts. When a notorious foreigner, Kossuth, was here a year ago, and who sought to involve us in the troubles of Europe, he denounced his machinations as fraught with danger to our best interests. Kossuth made strong appeals to the government and people, and filled his pockets with money. He is now exceedingly quiet, and it was supposed he would remain so until his funds shall all be expended. He repeated he was against intervention, because he and his constituents are conservative, and because he was unwilling to apply a policy to the country that would not apply to them. With regard to the invasion of Cuba, he mourned the fate of those who suffered the penalty of their rashness, but justified the Government for not encouraging that expedition. If Cubans had landed on the coast of North Carolina to revolutionize our Government, the people of that State would have hanged them with a grape-vine without the formality of a trial. He could not, therefore, say that Spain did wrong in pursuing the principle of self-preservation. Permit this spirit to have full sweep, and permit our people to go forth as the absorbers of adjoining nations, and we will concentrate the ill-will of Christendom, and it ought to be upon us. What is true in private life is true in politics. Where nations have committed crimes and trampled on human rights, they have gathered together the fuel, which the breath of heaven has kindled to their destruction. And in this connection, he mentioned several memorable historical instances. Our citizens who desire to invade Cuba in violation of treaties and the laws of the land, endeavour to excite sympathy and strength by saying that Cuba committed the wrong, and killed some of our people. But false witnesses have been raised against Cuba. If the United States are to be become the propagandists of liberty throughout the world and become a nation of buccaneers, and appropriate to themselves all the territories of our neighbours, then, in face of the world and of God, he washed his hands of it. They are clean. It was guilt, and most damnable guilt. He would stand up for the doctrine announced by Monroe, and resist the attempts of foreign powers to set up Governments on this continent, while he would not consent that Cuba should pass into the possession of any other power, he was satisfied Spain shall hold it forever. He believed this would be better, unless we got it by purchase. It can never pass from Spain without the United States being an honourable party to the transaction. Spain has refused as sternly to sell Cuba as we would to sell New York, and as long as we commit outrage against Spain, and foment revolution in Cuba, the northern country will be more and more unwilling to sell. It was said that Calhoun was for taking Cuba, right or wrong. This was a mistake. So far from this, that distinguished statesman remarked to him, on his deathbed, that "*Cuba must come to us by treaty honourable and satisfactory to both countries;*" and he said to two gentleman from that Island, "Cuba and the people are not ripe for revolution, and the expedition of Lopez will be a failure." These were the words of a man, a purer than whom never existed.

As to the Compromise measures, he was not willing to disturb the laws he was bound to obey. He would not prophecy evil concerning the future, but he could not be ignorant of the fact that the acquisition of new territory will re-open the controversy which has been in some measure quieted, and it would break forth with renewed vigour over our land. Spain would set the negroes of Cuba free, and we would then have another San Domingo in that quarter. Nor did he want Canada. We have in our broad land territory enough. He was a conservative, and for the protection of the property and rights of our neighbours. We cannot live in good neighbourhood if we violate treaty stipulations. He repeated, he was against the propagandists of the great principle of free government. With these he had no affiliation. Although dissenting in many things from Mr. Fillmore, he approved his course on the Cuban question, and expressed the hope that the incoming administration will maintain a policy pure and stainless on the subject. He had determined thus early in the session to make known his opinion, and to solemnly protest against the policy which goes to the absolution of the territory of adjoining nations. He made further remarks in support of the positions assumed.

MR STEPHENS, of Georgia, said the gentleman had been kicking a dead lion. Filibustering was at par eighteen months ago, but he believed it had now fallen decidedly below par. He (Stephens) was not in favour of taking Cuba, but was not willing to declare that he would not have Cuba under any circumstances, nor did he think it proper to say it was best for Spain to have Cuba. Let the future take care of itself. He was willing to declare, as he did two years ago, that he had no desire for Cuba. He did not see what benefit it would be to us; but he did not know what would occur to render its acquisition desirable. He trusted the day would never come when violence would be resorted to for this purpose. He was for the arts, but if war must come, we must be prepared for it. If offences must need come, we to him by whom they come. He did not know and understand, and see the object and purpose of discussing the Cuba question at present. The gentleman from North Carolina spoke of the fearful agitation through which we lately passed. The gentleman also spoke of the reluctance with which he swallowed the Compromise measures, and then animadverted on the danger of the acquisition of Cuba. But what is the great principle of the Compromise? Why, that so far as territory is concerned, the General Government has no right to interfere with the people, who can and would form their Government just as they pleased.

MR. VENABLE interposed, saying the acquisition of more territory, according so his opinion, was an open question.

MR. STEPHENS resumed. The gentleman said that the forcible taking possession of Cuba might induce Spain to emancipate the slaves, and he understood the gentleman as urging the acquisition, in any event, Spain consenting.

MR. VENABLE (interrupting). I commenced by saying when Cuba changed hands, the United States must be a party to it.

MR. STEPHENS. But the point of the gentleman's argument is this—that the acquisition would have a tendency to renew sectional feeling. In any event, he repeated, he was against the acquisition of Cuba at this time, but if it should become a great national object, he did not conceive that danger was to be apprehended in a sectional form. He had referred to the compromise acts to show the gentleman from North Carolina was wrong, and his State was right in approving those measures. He considered this a question not only for the South, but for the North. The leading feature in the settlement was, that in all territory acquired and belonging to the United States, the people should have such institutions as they should see fit. It was that re-establishment of the old republican principle on which our institutions rest, namely, that all people have a right to govern themselves as they please—never take anything wrongfully, but if you carry this principle with you, you may have an ocean bound Republic—with this principle we can acquire Cuba, or any other territory, and have no apprehension of danger.

MR. BAYLY said this was a question in which he felt a vast deal of interest. He had just learned that a resolution introduced by a colleague in the Senate, calling for information in relation to Cuba, has just passed that body, and he would wait until the resolution shall be responded to before he delivered his remarks. He wanted all the facts before him.

MR. BROWN, of Mississippi, replied to a portion of Mr. Venable's remarks, saying that the emancipation of the slaves in Cuba would not preserve the island to Spain. He thought the creoles there, feeling oppressed, have the same right to take up arms as the American Colonies, and that citizens of the United States have as much right to help them as the French had to help us in our Revolutionary struggle. Our forefathers were not buccaneers, nor were the French who came to our rescue in that glorious contest. The gentleman from North Carolina did not draw a proper distinction between the acts of the Government and those of the people.

THE CHAIRMAN here interposed, calling gentlemen to order, and saying that the conversation was so loud it was impossible for the Reporters to hear.

MR. BROWN resumed, accusing his States Rights friend of having deserted his former ground, and saying if I go for the acquisition of Cuba, at all, or other foreign territory, let it be understood it is because I want an outlet for Slavery. I am perfectly free to say, I am not going to second any fillibustering expedition against Cuba, or any other part of the world, but I am for demanding and exacting, at all times and under all circumstances, proper respect for the flag of this country, and if in doing this we become involved in war with Spain or any other nation, I am for fighting it out, and, if in the general settlement we can get nothing but land, I am willing to take that (laughter). Mr. Brown then censured the remissness of the Administration on Cuban affairs, and trusted that the one incoming would demand satisfaction for the offences blurred over by the retiring Administration. He said, most emphatically and distinctly, he did not desire our Government to provoke a quarrel with Spain. He desired peace with her. He was content if Spain could hold Cuba firmly that she shall do so. He, however, would make no agreement against acquisition, but if Spain should part with Cuba, we should have it. The speech of the gentleman from North Carolina must induce the public to hold on, and hesitate against acquiring Cuba under any circumstances. During this speech Mr. Brown repeatedly gave way to Mr. Venable for explanations.

MR. WILCOX endorsed *in toto* the remarks of Mr. Stephens. He hoped the incoming administration would be characterized by the spirit of conservatism. He trusted economy, retrenchment, and reform would be carried out, and that the banner of peace would be unfurled at the commencement of the new administration. He was not prepared to say he was not in favour of the acquisition of Cuba. At all events, at present he was opposed to its acquisition in any shape, manner or form whatever, because he conceived that the wants and emergencies of Government do not require it. But he was not prepared to say he was opposed to acquiring Cuba at any time, because the time may come when a portion of this confederation, forgetful of the bonds which bind the States together, may make the acquisition indispensable, peacefully if possible, if not, at all hazards. The day is not far distant when we will have an ocean-bound Republic.

CIRCULAR.

OCEAN PENNY POSTAGE.

MR. EDITOR—Let me beg you to admit into some corner of your paper, a few thoughts on Ocean Penny Postage; a subject which must interest, directly and deeply, many of your readers, and millions on both sides of the Atlantic. Perhaps you are aware that the project of reducing the transit charge on letters, from any port of Great Britain to any port beyond the sea, to *one penny* or two cents, has been mooted in this country for several years. It has now assumed the character of a measure of urgent necessity, and vast importance; and is about to be brought forward in Parliament, backed by almost the unanimous sympathy and suffrage of all political parties, and of all classes of society. In fact, no opposition to this great postal reform has manifested itself in any quarter. It seems at once to conciliate and win to its advocacy all interests. The sudden and immense emigration to Australia, within the last few months, with the old gulf stream of human beings, flowing with undiminished current toward America, has brought the subject home to millions, during the last year, who thought it did not affect them before. The poorer and industrial classes of society, who supply the largest tributaries of this swift running river of emigration, look for the realization of Ocean Penny Postage as a boon of inestimable value. The commercial class of community begin to understand its importance, and to urge its adoption. Every interest, every influence, every disposition and tendency of the times, is in its favour. But, to make an Ocean Penny Postage universal, co-extensive with the globe, the sympathy and concurrence of the people and governments of all maritime countries in Christendom are requisite. For, to realize completely the system proposed, whatever be the distance or direction, or under whatever flag a letter may be conveyed, the single service of its mere transit from any port of one country to any port of another, must be performed for *one penny*. If the British mail packets perform this service on a letter from any port of Great Britain to any port beyond the sea at which they touch for one penny, the American mail packets, must do the same. The French steamer that conveys a letter across the Mediterranean, or the German across the Baltic, or the Danish across the sound to Sweeden, must each perform and nations, then, must move in this matter, before the whole scheme is consummated. But, Great Britain and the United States can establish this system over more than three-fourths of the globe, without the aid or concurrence of any other governments whatever. England can alone establish it between Liverpool and Halifax, and will do it, doubtless, ere long, and between her and all her colonial ports beyond the sea, in every direction, and to ever distance. And, if she can convey a letter from Liverpool to Halifax, or to Hong Kong, or to Australia, for a penny, cannot the United States transport one from New York to Liverpool, Havre, Bremen, or Havana for the same? What a singular anomaly it would be, if the transit charge on a letter from Liverpool to Quebec should be *two cents*, and the same service on one from Boston to Liverpool should be *three cents*! It is probably the fact, that *nine-tenths* of all the correspondence of the world that crosses the sea, is conveyed in British and American vessels. If, therefore, these two Governments can be brought, by a pressure of public opinion, to unite in establishing an Ocean Penny Postage, so far as it lies in their united power, they could alone confer the boon, almost to the full extent of its blessing and beneficence, upon the family of man. Yours sincerely,

ELIHU BURRITT.

London, 35 Broad St. Buildings, Nov. 5, 1852.

Miscellaneous News.

The Chicago Commercial Advertiser has hoisted the John P. Hale flag for 1856. It has been a so-called "National Whig" paper, but its principles did not take in that latitude.

JOHN L. CAREY, formerly of *The Baltimore (Md.) American*, and latterly of *The N. O. Crescent*, died at New Orleans, Dec. 14.

DESPATCHES have gone out from the State Department directing Mr. Rives to acknowledge the Empire as the Government *de facto* of France.

ACCORDING to the returns of the assessors of New Orleans, there has been a decline in the value of property, in the city, of $3,392,342 within the past year.

A NEW drama, written expressly for the Baltimore Museum, called Uncle Tom's Cabin As It is, was introduced on Tuesday evening, with Mr. Owens as Pheley Golightly, an Abolitionist, &c.

REV. HENRY GILES, the eloquent lecturer, recently had his trunk stolen, containing among other things, several manuscript lectures. He was unable to lecture in Gloucester, Mass., on the 4th ultimo, in consequence.

RICHARD HILDRETH, the historian, it is said, is preparing a "Theory of Politics," one of a series of works, of which the "Theory of Morals," published some eight years since, was the first. It is stereotyping in Boston, and the Harpers will be publishers.

THE name of Charles List is removed from the head of *The Commonwealth* newspaper, and that of Mr. J. D. Baldwin is substituted. We learn (says *The Post*) that Hon. Samuel E. Sewall is Mr. Baldwin's partner, and that Mr. Robert Carter is likely to become the political editor again.

The Cassville (Ga.) *Standard* says that on last sale day, (first Tuesday in December,) thirty negroes were sold in that place at enormous prices, ranging from five hundred dollars for children to one thousand and fifty dollars for men.

AFTER it was ascertained that Gen. Scott was defeated, the young ladies of the High School in Springfield, Ohio, appeared in black shawls and other badges of mourning, as an evidence of their disappointment. Poor things!

The Marianna (Fla.) *Whig* states that a man named John M. Davis, was committed at that place on the 14th ultimo, charged with stealing a negro and a horse and buggy. As negro-stealing is a capital offence in Florida, the man arrested is thought to be in a perilous predicament.

THE graveyard at Princeton, New Jersey, in which repose the remains of Aaron Burr, was recently visited by a stranger, who, after inquiring the locality of his grave, which was unmarked by any memorial, had a neat marble monument, with a brief inscription, erected over it. He left no clue as to who he was, or the motives prompting his act.

A *State Temperance Convention* will be held in Albany on the second Wednesday in January, and a *Woman's Temperance Convention* on the following day and evening. Gerrit Smith, Rev. Samuel J. May, Rev. Wm. Hosmer, and other eminent speakers will attend and address the latter.

THE Bedford (Ill.) *Times* states that at the recent horticultural show in that town, the Judges decided that a bundle of *white carrots* were the best *parsnips*, and gave the prize accordingly.

A PETITION to the Legislature is in circulation in Syracuse to substitute for the imprisonment now prescribed for seduction, a provision making the seduction itself a valid marriage, where the parties are unmarried.

The Boston Bee adds to the "Uncle Tom" statistics the following important facts: "Since the first rage of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, over three hundred infants have been christened *Eva*, in this city.

A MAN named Avery Perkins, was taken up on the Augusta (Ga.) Railroad the other day, on suspicion of negro stealing. It appears that he had with him at the time of his arrest three negro men, whom he had enticed away from their owners.

DR. HOWE has examined almost the entire number of cases of idiocy known in Massachusetts, and in all but four instances he found the parents of these idiots were either intemperate, addicted to sensual vices, srofulous, predisposed to insanity, or had intermarried with blood relations.

A SUITABLE TRIBUTE TO PRESIDENT FILLMORE.—"We understand," says the *Journal of Commerce*, "that an effort is making on the part of the friends of Mr. Fillmore and of the Colonization Society, to constitute him a Life Director of the same, by raising *one thousand dollars*, to be appropriated to assisting emigrants to Liberia, while *a suitable tribute of respect* is thus paid to the retiring President."

E. D. BARBER, of *The Sandy Hill* (N. J.) *Herald*, thus hadsomely withdraws his pretensions to a seat in Pierce's Cabinet: "We esteem Gen. Pierce very highly, and would be glad to assist him in anything reasonable, but we cannot act as one of his Cabinet. If he has a situation that requires neither talent, industry or enterprise, and that will pay well, we shall be extremely happy to serve him, as we are peculiarly fitted for that situation. Abundance of testimonials can be furnished, if required."

IN East Greenwich, R. I., which contains a population of 2,500, the town agent has sold, since August last, two hogsheads of New England rum, fifteen casks of brandy; besides other liquors. *The Providence Journal* says the people are not extensively engaged in any mechanical pursuit requiring any great amount of alcohol, and the inference is that nearly all the liquor sold must have been for medicine. The inference is that the town must be a very sickly place!

SUBMITTING IT TO THE PEOPLE.—The liquor law which recently passed the Vermont Legislature contains a provision authorizing constables to arrest and commit every man they find intoxicated, and to keep him in prison until he is in a fit state to testify where he obtained his liquor. If he refuses to testify, the justice before whom he is brought has power to commit him till he will. The law is to be voted on by the people; if they say yes, it goes into operation the first of April; if no, then on the first of December. A correspondent of the *Salem Gazette* says this reminds him of the colloured preacher, who said "there would be services at his house next Thursday, ef de Lord be willin', and on de next Tuesday, any how."

FRENCH OCCUPATION OF SAMANA.—We understand from a Captain in the French Marine, who arrived yesterday from St. Domingo, that there is a fleet of the Emperor already in undisputed possession of the harbour of Samana. It is further announced, that it is the intention of Louis Napoleon to send all the necessary reinforcements to keep the prize he has secured; and there is not the slightest doubt among the French residents of the Island, that the ground taken by Napoleon will be defended by the whole force of the Empire. This is most important information. It confirms the previous accounts of French usurpation, and is a distinct avowal of the new continental policy of the European powers on this Continent, and in the Gulf of Mexico, of which our Government is bound to take notice, and act accordingly. The people are now far in advance of the Administration, and as soon as the French occupation of Samaia is made positively certain, the indignation will be aroused to a pitch hitherto unprecedented. Let all concerned look to the matter with courage and firmness, for there is an event at hand.—*Herald.*

AUTOGRAPHS FOR FREEDOM.—This is a book of two hundred and sixty pages, got up under the auspices of the "Rochester Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society." It consists of forty-one original articles from sundry distinguished persons, residing on both sides of the Atlantic. To each article there is a *fac simile* autograph of the writer. Several of the articles are illustrated with most expressive engravings. The book is well bound, and printed on fair paper. Here are the names of the contributors: Hon. Wm. H. Seward, Mrs. H. E. B. Stowe, The Earl of Carlisle, Mrs. C. M. Kirkland, Hon. Horace Mann, Joseph Sturge, Richard Hildreth, John G. Whittier, Miss Sedgwick, The Bishop of Oxford, Rev. W. Goodell, George W. Perkins, Ebenezer Button, Mrs. S. W. H. Dall, J. M. Whitfield, Wilson Armstead, J. M. Ellis, Dr. James McCune Smith, Lewis Tappan, Rev. C. G. Finney, Miss C. E. Beecher, Hon. Charles Sumner, Horace Greeley, Gerrit Smith, Rev. John Pierpont, Annie Parker, Rev. E. Buckingham, Rev. F. W. Holland, Lindley Murray Moore, James G. Birney, Rev. R. Raymond, Rev. S. J. May, John Thomas, Frederick Douglass, Prof. J. H. Raymond, Prof. W. G. Allen.—*F. Douglass' Paper.*

THE MINNESOTA MAINE LIQUOR LAW DECLARED VOID.—A proceeding under the seventh section of the Maine Liquor Law, so called, was instituted before a justice of the peace, whereby a search warrant was issued against Alexis Cloutier, of St. Anthony, and a quantity of liquor in his possession was seized, and ordered by the justice to be destroyed and the defendant fined $25. An appeal was made from that decision to the District Court of the First Judicial District for Ramsey county.

Judge Hayner announced his decision on Saturday last, in which he thoroughly reviewed and investigated every point involved in the case. The following is a brief of the points decided:

1. That the legislative power being vested by the organic act in the legislative assembly and Governor, they had no right or authority to delegate it to any body or persons—not even to the people of the territory.

2. That in the enactment in question, the Legislature in effect attempted to transfer this power to the people.

3. That in so doing they acted beyond their authority, and conferred no authority upon the people, and consequently their acts were void.

4. That the people of the territory could not, in their eminent dominions reserve and exercise the power, inasmuch as the territories belongs to the people of the whole Union, and under the Constitution of the United States, the ultimate sovereignty is granted to Congress. If it could be reserved, it would have to be done by Congress, and not by the people of the territory, who therefore derived no right from this source to pass this enactment, and therefore it never became law, and cannot be enforced as such.

THIRTY likely negroes, recently emancipated by Hon. W. E. Kennedy, of Marcy Co., Tenn., started from Nashville on Monday last for Liberia, *via* New Orleans. *The Nashville Gazette* says: "It is the intention of Judge Kennedy to manumit more than forty slaves next year, who will follow those now *en route* for the coast of Africa. His object in adopting this course is, that the first company may make preparation for the second, in Liberia. It is an important fact that several of his negroes refused to be manumitted, and prefer to live with him during his life. Those about to emigrate seem to be in high spirits at the idea of enjoying perfect freedom, although their bondage has been a light one under their humane master."

MR. CALHOUN AND CUBA.—The *National Intelligencer* repeats the declaration imputed to Mr. Calhoun, that "Cuba was forbidden fruit" to this country, for the purpose of arraying the authority of his eminent name against the policy of Cuba. Now, we have reason to know that the declaration of Mr. Calhoun does not express the conclusions of his judgment, and that his views of the acquisition of Cuba were not at all in accordance with those promulgated by President Fillmore, and supported by the *National Intelligencer*. We would not be surprised if Mr. Calhoun's opinions on the subject were authoritively developed during the debate now progressing in the Senate.—*Union*, 20*th*.

THE Washington correspondent of *The Ashtabula* (Ohio) *Sentinel*, (under date of the 16th ultimo), writes that while Mr. Giddings was on the floor on the 14th, showing that the only interest of these United States now protected by prohibitory laws is the *slave-breeding interests* of this District and the Northern slave States, there was a sale of people going on upon the Pennsylvania-avenue, in sight of the Capitol. A young man of 18 was bid off at $900, and a girl of 10 was struck off at $300. Who shall say the Slave Trade was not abolished here by the law of 1850. This morning an old gentleman called on me in great agony of soul. His daughter of 17 was sold to a slaveholder and confined in the slave pen. $1,000 was demanded by the savage who had her in possession. He had raised some $500.

A CANADIAN paper gives the following as the literal copy of the Rules and Regulations adopted by the School Section No. 14, in the Township of Nissouri, Oxford. It is worthy of preservation as a curiosity of literature:

"Thou shalt not lie thou shalt not swear thou shalt not speak a smoty or blagard talk thou shalt not steal thy neighbor's dinner his ink or handle his books or anything that is his.

no whispering no laughing no leaving seats with liberty nor meddle with books Slates pens nor ink without liberty no quarreling no lying no Swearing Stealing nor telling tales out of school no disputing no bad language no fitting, no pushing each other in the mud nor in the ditch on the road home.

Any children coming without proper books their parents to be no te fyed by a letter if not punctually attended to shall be dismissed from School."

FOR LIBERIA.—The fine brig Zebra has been chartered by the Colonisation Society to convey its emigrants to Sinora and Monrovia, and will have immediate dispatch. There are already here some eighty emigrants, and others are daily arriving. Among those now here are Simon Harris, from the Choctaw nation, and his family, about whom great interest has been manifested at the North. There are also thirteen from Montgomery, Alabama, and twenty-eight of the servants of the late Mr. Ludlow, of Texas. Advices have been received from the Kentucky Colonisation Society of thirty-four being on their way. The family of John M. Jordan, well known as the confidential clerk of our deceased and highly-respected fellow-citizen, Wm. M. Beal, are also going out with this expedition.

We have never seen a finer and more intelligent body of emigrants than those now here. They will be additions to the Colony.—*New Orleans Picayune, Dec.* 19.

GERRIT SMITH DECLINING A PUBLIC DINNER.—Gerrit Smith, says the Rochester *American*, must be a man of very few words. The following is his laconic reply to an invitation to accept the honour of a public festival, which was tendered to Lim by the Abolitionists of Syracuse. And Gerrit also seizes the occasion to refute the charge which has recently been made, that he intended to bring a bill before Congress for the purchase of Cuba. Brief letters and short speeches are becoming fashionable—*multum in parvo.*

PETERSBORO', Dec. 14, 1852.

JOHN THOMAS, Esq.—*My Dear Sir:* I have your letter. Oh, no! I must not be at any such demonstrations of joy at my election. I am now too old—have too long cultivated the modesty of private life, to venture on being the hero at a dinner table. I should be confused. My tongue would stammer. My hand tremble. And I should spill my wine. My bringing in a bill for the purchase of Cuba is, indeed, rare news. I had not heard of it before. In haste, truly yours,

GERRIT SMITH.

DECISION IN THE PROVIDENCE LIQUOR CASE—UNCONSTITUTIONALITY OF THE LAW.—The case of William H. Green *vs.* the City of Providence, for the seizure of certain liquors, brought before the Court by a writ of replevin, to recover said liquors, which were condemned by the Court of Magistrates, was decided by Judge Curtis, giving his opinion that the law of this State, under which the property in the case was condemned, is unconstitutional, because the plaintiff was deprived of his property by a criminal prosecution, in which he neither had nor could have a trial by Jury without submitting to conditions which the Legislature had no Constitutional power to impose. The Court also thought the order not simply voidable but absolutely void, the magistrates having no jurisdiction over the proceeding—and they gave judgment for the demurrer without nominal damages.—*Telegraph.*

THE Superintendent of the Hudson River Railroad has made a new provision for signals in foul weather. In a note to the editor of the *Courier*, he says:

"Fortunately we have at hand a sure and simple means of accomplishing the purpose. Our signal men are all supplied with torpedoes, to place on the rail for a signal in thick weather, when the ordinary signal cannot be seen. The explosion caused by running over one of these is loud enough to be heard throughout the entire train, communicating the alarm with absolute certainty to all on board.

"I have this day directed that no drawbridge on this road shall hereafter be opened, either by day or by night, without torpedoes being first placed upon the rails, five hundred yards distant on each side, in addition to the usual signals."

SPIRITUAL TELEGRAPH—GEN. SCOTT ELECTED.—Contrary to all expectation, it is now confidentially asserted by the spirits that Gen. Scott is elected President of the United States. The news was obtained in this wise: A private circle in this city have been lately experimenting upon the powers of animal magnetism—its influence upon unknown intelligence, and its capability of being made of practical utility. They pursue their investigations in a matter-of-fact way, and utterly reject the idea that there is any supernatural agency in the matter. They have lately been favoured with a new revelations in the shape of visits from the spirits of persons living at a great distance. In fact, they claim to have discovered a regular spiritual telegraph.

In the course of their experiments, a night or two ago, Gen. Cass and Truman

Miscellaneous Department.

MISS BERRY—A BEQUEST FROM THE LAST CENTURY.

An event occurred last Saturday night week which makes us ask ourselves whether we have really passed the middle of our century. In the course of Saturday night, Nov. 20, one died who could and did tell so much of what happened early in the reign of George III., that her hearers felt as if they were in personal relations with the men of that time. Miss Berry was remarkable enough in herself to have excited a good deal of emotion by dying any time within the last seventy years. Dying now, she leaves as strong as ever the impression of her admirable faculties, her generous and affectionate nature, and her high accomplishments, while awakening us to a retrospect of the changes and fashions of our English intellect, as expressed by literature. She was not only the woman of letters of the last century, carried far forward into our own—she was not only the woman of fashion who was familiar with the gaities of life before the fair daughters of George III. were seen abroad, and who had her own will and way with society up to last Saturday night; she was the repository of the whole literary history of four score years; and when she was pleased to throw open the folding doors of her memory, they were found to be mirrors, and in them was seen the whole procession of literature, from the mournful Cowper to Tennyson the laureate.

It was a curious sight—visible till recently, though now all are gone—the chatting of three ladies on the same sofa—the two Miss Berrys and their intimate friend, Lady Charlotte Lindsay. Lady Charlotte Lindsay was the daughter of Lord North; and the Miss Berrys had both received, as was never any secret, the offer of the hand of Horace Walpole. It is true he was old, and knew himself to be declining, and made this offer as an act of friendship and gratitude; but still, the fact remains that she, who died last Saturday night, might have been the wife of him who had the poet Gray for his tutor. These ladies brought into our time a good deal of the manners, the conversation, and the dress of the last century; but not at all in a way to cast any restraint on the youngest of their visitors, or to check the inclination to inquire into the thoughts and ways of men long dead, and the influence of modes long passed away. It was said that Miss Berry's parties were rather blue; and perhaps they were so; but she was not aware of it; and all thought of contemporary pedantry dissolved under her stories of how she once found on the table, on her return from a ball, a volume of "Plays on the Passions," and how she kneeled on a chair at the table to see what the book was like, and was found there—feathers and satin shoes and all—by the servant who came to let in the winter morning light; or of how the world of literature was perplexed and distressed—as a swarm of bees that have lost their queen—when Dr. Johnson died; or of how Charles Fox used to wonder that people could make such a fuss about that dullest of new books—Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations." He was an Eton boy, just promised a trip to Paris by his father, when Miss Berry was born; and Pitt was a child in the nursery, probably applauded by his maid for his success in learning to speak plain. Burns was then toddling in and out, over the threshold of his father's cottage. Just when she was entering on the novel-reading age, Evelina came out; and Fanny Burney's series of novels were to that generation of young people what Scott's were to the next but one. If the youths and maidens of that time had had fiction, they had good history, for the learned Mr. Gibbon gave them volume after volume which made them proud of their age. They talked about their poets, and no doubt each had an idol in that day as in ours and everybody's. The earnestness, sense, feeling and point of Cowper delighted some; and they reverently told of the sorrows of his secluded life, as glimpses were caught of him in his walks with Mrs. Unwin. Others stood on tiptoe to peep into Dr. Darwin's "chaise" as he went his professional round, writing and polishing his verses as he went; and his admirers insisted that nothing so brilliant had ever been written before. Miss Berry must have well remembered the first exhibition of this brilliancy before the careless eyes of the world; and she must have remembered the strangeness of the contrast when Crabbe tried the contrast of his homely pathos, encouraged to do so by Burke. And then came something which it is scarcely credible that the world should have received during the period of Johnson's old age, and the maturity of Gibbon, and Sir Wm. Jones, and Burns—the wretched rhyming of the Batheaston set of sentimental pedants. In rebuke of them, the now mature woman saw the theory of Wordsworth rise; and in rebuke of him, she saw the young and confident Jeffrey and his comrades arise; and in rebuke of them saw the *Quarterly Review* arise, when she was beginning to be elderly. She saw Joanna Baillie's great fame rise and decline, without either the rise or decline changing in the least the countenance or the mood of the happy being whose sunshine came from quite another luminary than fame. She saw the rise of Wordsworth's fame, growing as it did out of the reaction against the pomps and vanities of the Johnsonian and Darwinian schools; and she lived to see its decline when the great purpose was fulfilled, of inducing poets to say what they mean, in words which will answer that purpose. She saw the beginning and the end of Moore's popularity; and the rise and establishment of Campbell's. The short career of Byron passed before her eyes like a summer storm, and that of Scott constituted a great interest of her life for many years. What an experience—to have studied the period of horrors—represented by Monk Lewis—of conventionalism in Fanny Burney—of metaphysical fiction in Godwin—of historical romance in Scott—and of a new order of fiction in Dickens, which it is yet too soon to characterize by a phrase.

We might go on for hours, and not exhaust the history of what she saw on the side of literature alone. If we attempted to number the scientific men who have crossed her threshold—the foreigners who found within her doors the best of London and the cream of society, we should never have done. And of the political changes she saw—the continental wars, the establishment of American independence—the long series of French revolutions—the career of Washington, of Napoleon, of Nelson, of Wellington, with that of all the statesmen from Lord Chatham to Peel—from Franklin to Webster. But it is too much. It is bewildering to us, though it never overpowered her. She seemed to forget nothing, and to notice everything, and to be able to bear so long a life in such times; but she might well be glad to sink to sleep, as she did last Saturday night week, after so long drawn a pageant of the world's pomps and vanities, and transient idolatries, and eternal passions.

Reviewing the spectacle, it appears to us, as it probably did to her, that there is no prevalent taste, at least in literature, without a counteraction on the spot, preparing society for a reaction. Miss Berry used to say that she published the later volumes of Walpole's correspondence to prove that the world was wrong in thinking him heartless; she believing the appearance of heartlessness in him to be ascribable to the influences of his time. She did not succeed in changing the world's judgment of her friend; and this was partly because the influences of the time did not prevent other men from showing heart. Charles James Fox had a heart, and so had Burke and a good many more. While Johnson and then Darwin were corrupting men's taste in one direction, Cowper was keeping it pure enough to enjoy the three rising poets, alike only in their plainess of speech—Crabbe, Burns and Wordsworth. Before Miss Burney had exhausted our patience, the practical Maria Edgeworth was growing up. While Godwin would have engaged us wholly with the interior scenery of man's nature, Scott was fitting up his theatre for his mighty procession of costumes, with men in them to set them moving; and Jane Austen, whose name and works will outlive many that were supposed immortal, was stealthily putting forth her unmatched delineations of domestic life in the middle classes of our over-living England. And against the somewhat feeble elegance of Sir William Jones' learning there was the safeguard of Gibbon's marvellous combination of strength and richness in his erudition. The vigour of Campbell's lyrics was a sett-off against the prettiness of Moore's. The subtlety of Coleridge meets its match, and a good deal more, in the development of science; and the morose complainings of Byron are less and less echoed now that the place has opened the world to gentry whose energies would be self-corroding if they were under blockade at home, through a universal continental war. Byron is read at sea now, on the way to the North Pole, or to California, or to Borneo; and in that way his woes can do no harm. To everything there is a season; and to every fashion of a season there is an antagonism preparing. Thus all things have their turn; all human faculties have their stimulus, sooner or later, supposing them to be put in the way of the influences of social life.

It was eminently so in the case of the aged lady who is gone from us; and well did her mind respond to the discipline offered by her long and favourable life of ninety years. One would like to know how she herself summed up such an experience as her's—the spectacle of so many everlasting things dissolved—so many engrossing things forgotten—so many settled things set afloat again, and floated out of sight. Perhaps those true words wandered once more into her mind as her eyes were closing:

> We are such stuff
> As dreams are made of; and our little life
> Is rounded with a sleep.

[*London News*, Nov. 29.

SEVERAL CURIOUS LITERARY COINCIDENCES.

"With him, most authors steal their works, or buy;
Garth did not write his own Dispensary."—Pope.

"The criterion by which to distinguish between literary plagiarism, and undesigned coincidences of thought and expression, has been sufficiently established by critics; and no one, at the present day, would regard such imitations, when not too frequent and glaring, as detracting from a writer's just fame and reputation, which will always depend, not on occasional defects, or occasional beauties, but on his permanently sustained genius and originality. There is always entertainment in tracing the thoughts and sentiments of a writer to the source which supplied them, or of observing how the same idea may suggest itself to different minds. The following coincidences of idea and language have not hitherto, I believe, been noticed.

"Dr. Goldsmith, in his 'Traveller,' says,

> And wiser he whose sympathetic mind
> Exults in all the good of all mankind;
> *Creation's heir, the world, the world is mine!*"

"Norris, who wrote during the Commonwealth, has the following, in his poem entitled 'My Estate.'

> 'While you a spot of earth possess with care
> Below the notice of the geographer,
> I, by the freedom of my soul,
> *Possess, nay more, enjoy the whole;*
> *To th' universe a claim I lay.*'

"The idea expressed in the second stanza of Campbell's lines to 'Melancholy,'

> 'Mysterious passion, dearest pain,
> Tell me what wondrous *charms* are these,
> With which thou dost torment and please;
> *I grieve to be thy slave, yet would not freedom gain!*'

"In Robert Blair's fine, original poem, 'The Grave,' is the following:

> 'Oh! that some courteous ghost would blab it out,
> What 'tis ye are, and we must shortly be.'

"The same Norris, in his 'Meditation,' says,

> 'Some *courteous ghost* tell the great secrecy,
> *What 'tis ye are, and we must be.*'

"Gray adopted the thoughts of others with great freedom. In his Sonnet on the Death of West, he has,

> 'I fruitless mourn to him who cannot hear,
> And weep the more because I weep in vain.'

"Lord Bacon, in his 'Apophthegms,' had remarked that Solon, when weeping for his lost son, and being told that weeping would not help, replied, '*Alas! and therefore do I weep, because it will not help.*' Gray received much praise for a passage in his Ode on the Duke of Grafton's Installation at Cambridge, in reference to the *Cam*, where he converts the proverbial sluggishness of that river into a graceful compliment to the University:

> 'Ye brown o'erarching groves
> That contemplation loves,
> *Where willowy Camus lingers with delight.*'

"Nearly thirty years ago I transcribed the following from a pedestal on the *Pont Notre-Dame*, at Paris:

> 'Sequana quum primum Reginæ allabitur Urbi,
> Sistit præcipitès ambitiosus aquas;
> *Captus amore loci, cursum obliviscitur anceps*
> *Quo fluat, et dulces nectit in urbe moras.*
> Hinc varios implens fluctu sonante canales,
> Fons fieri gaudet, qui modo flumen erat.'

The lines are by Santeul, and were placed on the *Pont Notre-Dame* and a few years before Gray visited that city. Santeul died in 1697, and was a Canon-regular of St. Victor's. He adorned Paris with various inscriptions, which, like his Latin hymns, are marked by grandeur of thought and simplicity of expression. Rollin wrote his epitaph, which ends with the following couplet:

> 'Fama hominum merces sit versibus æqua profanis;
> Mercedem poscunt Carmina Sacra Deum.'

"In the 'Monody written near Stratford upon Avon,' by Dr. Warton, is this line,

> 'His robe with regal woes embroidered o'er;'

which was suggested by an affecting passage in Savage's 'Wanderer,'

> 'Here the lone hour a blank of life displays,
> Till now bad thoughts a fiend more active raise;
> Death in her hand, and freazy in her eye!
> Her eye all sunk, and red! *a robe she wore*
> *With life's calamities embroider'd o'er.*'

"Sir Walter Scott, in the 'Lady of the Lake,' says,

> 'E'en the light harebell rears its head
> Elastic from her airy tread.'

Which is from Milton's 'Comus,'

> 'Thus I set my printless feet
> O'er the cowslip's velvet head,
> That bends not as I tread.'

"The talented translator of Anacreon was indebted for the idea of his pretty song 'Why does azure deck the sky?' to a passage in Giles Fletcher's 'Description of Mercy.' Fletcher lived in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and of James I.; but the sweetness and cadence of these lines have scarcely been surpassed by later poets.

> 'If any ask why roses please the sight?
> Because their leaves upon thy cheeks do bower:
> If any ask, why lilies are so white?
> Because their blossoms in thy hand do flower:
> Or why sweet plants such gratefuls odour shower?
> It is because thy breath so like they be.'
> Or why the orient sun so bright we see?
> What reason can we give but from thine eyes and thee!'

"The beautiful stanza in Beattie's 'Hermit,'

> 'Nor yet for the ravage of winter I mourn,
> Kind nature the embryo blossom will save;
> But when shall spring visit the mouldering urn,
> Ah! when shall it dawn on the night of the grave?'

contains a sentiment very like one by the accomplished and ill-fated [*Surrey*, in his 'Description of the restless state of a Lover.'

> 'The winter's hurt recovers with the warm;
> The parched green restored is with shade;
> What warmth, alas! may serve for to disarm
> The frozen heart that mine in flame hath made?
> What cold again is able to restore
> My fresh green years that wither thus and fade?'

"But a more remarkable instance of imitation occurs in 'The Vision,' by Burns. He was certainly indebted for the idea of that poem to a copy of verses written by 'the melancholy and pensive Wollaston,' so far back as 1681, and therefore seventy-eight years before Burns was born. Wollaston's poem was written upon the occasion of his leaving, 'with a heavy heart,' as he says, his beloved Cambridge. It will be recollected that, in 'The Vision,' Burns describes himself as sitting in the 'auld clay biggin,' musing with regret on the time he had wasted, and the fair opportunities he had lost, from his devotion to poetry, and as being about

> 'To sweet by a' your starry roof,
> Or some *rash aith*,
> That I henceforth would be rhyme proof
> Till my last breath.'

"At this moment the Muse of Scotland appears to him:

> 'Green, slender, leaf-clad *holly boughs*
> *Were twisted, graceful round her brows;*
> I took her for some *Scottish Muse*,
> By that same token;
> An' come to stop those reckless vows
> Would soon been broken.
>
> With musing deep astonish'd stare
> I view'd the heavenly-seeming *fair;*
> *A whisp'ring throb did witness bear*
> *Of kindred sweet,*
> When, with an elder sister's air,
> She did me greet.
> * * * * *
> *Down flow'd her robe, a tartar sheen,*
> *Till half a leg was skrimply seen;*
> * * * * *
> *Her mantle large, of greenish hue,*
> My gazing wonder chiefly drew;
> *Deep lights and shade, bold mingling, threw*
> A lustre grand;
> And seemed to my astonished view
> A well-known land.'

"She tells him that she had marked his progress through life, and the traits of deep poetic feeling of his boyhood: admitted the errors and the sufferings which too often accompanied these feelings, but still reminds him of their high and sacred origin,

> 'That e'en the *light* that led astray,
> *Was light from heaven!*'

and warns him that the wealth of the world could never compensate the loss of the Divine gift:

> '"And wear thou this"—she solemn said,
> And bound the holly round my head:
> The polish'd leaves, and berries red,
> Did rustling play;
> And, like a passing thought, *she fled,*
> *In light away.*'

"*Wollaston*, in the poem alluded to, in like manner describes himself, as sitting in his own '*small apartment*,' under the influence of similar feelings, and proceeds thus:

> 'As here, one day I sate,
> Disposed to ruminate,
> *Day melancholy died beneath,*
> *With thoughts of what was past, of what to come.*
> * * * * *
> *I thought I saw my Muse appear,*
> Whose dress declar'd her haste, whose looks her fear;
> *A wreath of laurel in her hand she bore:*
> Such laurel as the god Apollo wore.
> The piercing wind had backward comb'd her hair,
> And laid a paint of red upon *the fair;*
> *Her gown, which, with celestial colours dy'd,*
> Was with a golden girdle tied,
> *Through speed a little flow'd aside,*
> *And decently disclosed her knee;*
> When stopping suddenly, she spoke to me:
> "*What indigested thought, or rash advice,*
> *Has caused thee to apostatize?*
> Not my ill-usage, surely, made thee fly
> From thy apprenticeship in poetry."
> She pass'd awhile, with joy and weariness oppress'd,
> *And quick recipr'cations of her breast;*
> She spoke again: "*What travail and what care*
> *Have I bestow'd!* my vehicle of air
> How often changed in quest of thee!"'

"And she concludes, like the Muse of Burns, by counselling him to remain true to her and to poesy.

> 'Suppose the worst, thy passage rough, still I'll be kind,
> And breathe upon thy sails behind.
> Besides there is a port before:
> And every moment thou advancest to the shore,
> Where virtuous souls shall better usage find."
> Concern and agitation of my head,
> Wak'd me, *and with the light the phantom fled.*'

—*Gentleman's Magazine.*

THE WARDEN OF THE CINQUE PORTS.

A mist was driving down the British Channel,
The day was just begun,
And through the window-panes, on floor and panel,
Streamed the red Autumn sun.

It glanced on flowing flag and rippling pennon,
And the white sails of ships;
And, from the frowning rampart, the black cannon
Hailed it with feverish lips.

Sandwich, and Romney, Hastings, Hithe, and Dover,
Were all alert that day,
To see the French war-steamers speeding over
When the fog cleared away.

Sullen and silent, and like couchant lions,
Their cannon, through the night,
Holding their breath, had watched in grim defiance
The sea-coast opposite.

And now they roared at drum-beat from their stations
On every citadel;
Each answering each, with mourning salutations,
That all was well!

And down the coast, all taking up the burden,
Replied the distant forts,
As if to summon from his sleep the Warden
And Lord of the Cinque Ports.

Him shall no sunshine from the fields of azure,
No drum-beat from the wall,
No morning gun from the black fort's embrazure
Awaken with their call!

No more, surveying with an eye impartial
The long line of the coast,
Shall the gaunt figure of the old Field-Marshal
Be seen upon his post!

For in the night, unseen, a single warrior,
In sombre harness mailed,
Dreaded of man, and surnamed the Destroyer,
The rampart wall has scaled.

He passed into the chamber of the sleeper,
The dark and silent room;
And as he entered, darker grew and deeper
The silence and the gloom.

He did not pause to parley or dissemble,
But smote the Warden hoar;
Ah! what a blow! that made all England tremble
And groan from shore to shore.

Meanwhile, without, the surly cannon waited
The sun rose bright o'erhead;
Nothing in Nature's aspect intimated
That a great man was dead!

—*Longfellow* [in *Putnam's Monthly*].

SLAVES IN BRITAIN.

It has sometimes been predicted, not without plausibility, that if this great empire should sink before the rising genius of some new State, when all it has accomplished in arts and arms, and its wealth, its literature, its machinery, are forgotten, its struggles for humanity in the abolition of negro Slavery will stand forth in undiminished lustre. All the steps of this mighty operation are interesting. It is a peculiarity of England and its institutions, that many of the most momentous constitutional conflicts have taken place in the courts of law. In despotic countries this seldom occurs, because the rulers can bend the courts of law to their pleasure; but here, even under the worst governments, whatever degree of freedom was really warranted by law, could be secured by the courts of justice. When it was said that the air of Britain was too pure for a slave to breathe in—that his shackles fell off whenever he reached her happy shore—the sentiment was noble; but the question depended entirely on the law and its technical details. The trials resulting in a decision against Slavery, have thus much interest from the influence they exercised on human progress.

There seemed to be every probability that the interesting question, whether ownership in slaves continued after they had reached Britain, would have been tried in Scotland. In the middle of last century, a Mr. Sheddan had brought home from Virginia a negro slave to be taught a trade. He was baptised, and learning a trade, began to acquire notions of freedom and citizenship. When the master thought he had been long enough in Scotland to suit his purpose, the negro was put on board a vessel for Virginia. He got a friend, however, to present for him a petition to the Court of Session. The professional report of the case in *Morison's Dictionary of Decisions*, says: 'The Lords appointed counsel for the negro, memorials, and afterwards a hearing in presence, upon the respective claims of liberty and servitude by the master and the negro; but during the hearing in presence, the negro died, so the point was not determined.' In the English case, to which we shall presently advert, it was maintained, that from the known temper and opinions of the court, the decision would undoubtedly have been in the negro's favour. At the time when Mr. Granville Sharp, to his immortal honour, took up in the courts of law the question of personal liberty as a legal right, there was a more serious risk of Britain becoming a slave State than it is now easy to imagine. There was no chance of negroes being employed in gangs in the field or in manufactories, but there was imminent danger of their being brought over and kept in multitudes as domestic servants, just as they are still in some of the Southern States of America. Mr. Sharp drew attention to the following advertizement in the *Public Advertiser* of 28th March, 1769, as one of a kind becoming too common:

"To be sold, a Black Girl, the property of J. B——, eleven years of age, who is extremely handy, works at her needle tolerably, and speaks English perfectly well; is of an excellent temper and willing disposition.

"Inquire of Mr. Owen, at the Angel Inn, behind St. Clements Church in the Strand."

Mr. Sharp's early conflicts in the law-courts are more romantic than the last and decisive one. He and his brother found a poor mendicant negro, called Jonathan Strong, in the streets of London. They took him into their service, and after he had become plump, strong, and acquainted with his business, the man who had brought him from the colonies, an attorney, seeing him behind a carriage, set covetous eyes on him. The lad was waylaid on a false message to a public house, seized and committed to the Compter, where, however, he managed to make Mr. Sharp acquainted with his position. The indefatigable philanthropist had him brought before the Lord Mayor as sitting magistrate. After hearing the case stated, his lordship said: "The lad had not stolen anything, and was not guilty of any offence, and was therefore at liberty to go away." A captain of a vessel, saying he had been employed by a person who had just bought the youth, to convey him to Jamaica, seized him by the arm as his employer's property. A lawyer standing behind Mr. Sharp, who seems to have been puzzled how to proceed, whispered, "Charge him." Sharp charged the captain with an assault, and as he would have been immediately committed by the Lord Mayor if he persisted, he let go his hold. The philanthropist was threatened with a prosecution for abstraction of property, but it was abandoned.

This occurred in 1767. The next important case was that of a negro named Lewis. "He had formerly," said Mr. Sharp's biographer, "been a slave in possession of a Mr. Stapylton, who now resided at Chelsea. Stapylton, with the aid of two watermen, whom he had hired for that purpose, on a dark night seized the person of Lewis and, after a struggle, dragged him on his back into the water, and thence into a boat lying in the Thames, where, having first tied his legs, they endeavoured to gag him by running a stick into his mouth; and then rowing down to a ship bound for Jamaica, whose commander was engaged in the wicked conspiracy, they put him on board, to be sold as a slave on his arrival in the island." The negro's cries, however, were heard; the struggle was witnessed; and information given in the quarter whence aid was most likely to come. Mr. Sharp lost no time in obtaining a writ of habeas corpus. The ship in the meantime had sailed from Gravesend, but the officer with the writ was able to board her in the Downs. There he saw the negro chained to the mast. The captain was at first furious, and determined to resist; but he knew the danger of deforcing an officer with such a writ as a habeas corpus, and found it necessary to yield. The writ came up before Lord Mansfield. He did not go into the general question of Slavery, for there was an incidental point on which the case could be decided on the side of humanity—the captain and the persons employing him could not prove their property in the slave, supposing such property lawful. He was not only liberated, but his captors were convicted of an assault.

These cases, however, did not decide the wide question, whether it was lawful to hold property in negroes in this country. It came at last to be solemnly decided in 1771, on a habeas corpus in the King's Bench. Affidavits having been made before Lord Mansfield, that a coloured man, named Somerset, was confined in irons on board a vessel called the *Ann and Mary*, bound for Jamaica, he granted a writ of habeas corpus against the captain, to compel him to give an account of his authority for keeping the man in custody. Somerset had been a slave in Virginia, the property of a Mr. Stewart; and the captain of the vessel stated that the owner had put him on board, to be conveyed to Jamaica, and there sold. In what was called the return to the writ, the justification for keeping Somerset in restraint was thus quaintly stated—"That at the time of bringing the said James Somerset from Africa, and long before, there were, and from thence hitherto there have been, and still are, great numbers of negro slaves in Africa; and that, during all the time aforesaid, there hath been, and still is a trade, carried on by his Majesty's subjects from Africa, to his Majesty's colonies or plantations of Virginia and Jamaica in America, and other colonies and plantations belonging to his Majesty in America, for the necessary supplying of the foresaid colonies and plantations with negro slaves." It proceeded to relate with the same verbosity, that the slaves so brought from Africa "have been and are saleable and sold as goods and chattels; and upon the sale thereof, have become and been, and are, the slaves and property of the purchasers thereof." It was stated that Mr. Stewart, who resided in Virginia, had Somerset as a domestic slave or valet—that having business to transact in London, he took his usual attendant there, intending to take him back to Virginia. Somerset, however, made his escape; and when he was apprehended, his master, probably believing that he would thenceforth be rather a troublesome valet, changed his intention, and put the negro into the hands of the captain of a vessel bound for Jamaica, that he might be sold there.

The pleadings upon the legality of this proceeding were solemn and full. The question was, Whether it was to be held a just inference, from the fact of a slave, being undoubtedly by the law of the day property in the colonies, that, while his colonial master made a temporary stay in Britain, he should be property there also, without any direct law to that effect. Had it been a question of inanimate goods, there would be no reason why the property should not continue in the colonial owner. It would be all one to the inanimate object what hands it was in, and regularity and justice would decree that the person who was owner of it in one country should be so in another. But in these cases there was a separate adverse interest of a very strong character. Was the uniformity of this right of possession sufficient to overrule another right—that which every man, black or white, had the freedom of his own person, unless there was some special law to restrain it? The counsel for the negro not only pleaded strongly on this his personal right, but on the consequence to the moral condition of the British Empire, if the inhabitants of slave countries could bring their slaves hither. From the strictness of the laws, and the uniformity of the course of justice, if slaves were permitted in England, it was the very place where property in them would be most secure. Thus the country might become a resort of slaveholders, and its boasted purity and freedom would be sadly contaminated. "If that right," said Mr. Hargrave, "is here recognised, domestic Slavery, with its horrid train of evils, may be lawfully imported into this country, at the discretion of every individual, foreign and native. It will come not only from our own colonies, and those of other European nations, but from Poland, Russia, Spain, and Turkey—from the coast of Barbary, from the western and eastern coast of Africa—from every part of the world where it still continues to torment and dishonour the human species."

The counsel on the other side was the celebrated Mr. Dunning, afterwards Lord Ashburton, a friend of freedom, who seems to have undertaken the cause on notions of professional duty, and without any great inclination for it. His first words were: "It is incumbent on me to justify Captain Knowles detainer of the negro." He was careful to show, that he did not in the meantime maintain that there was an absolute property in Somerset—it was sufficient to show, that there was a sufficient presumption of property to authorize the shipmaster in detaining him until the absolute question of right was solemnly settled. He proceeded to say: "It is my misfortune to address an audience, the greater part of which I fear prejudiced the other way. But wishes, I am well convinced, will never be allowed by your lordships to enter into the determination of the point. This cause must be what in fact and law it is. Its fate, I trust, therefore, depends on fixed and invariable rules, resulting by law from the nature of the case. For myself, I would not be understood to intimate a wish in favour of Slavery by any means; nor, on the other side, to be supposed the maintainer of an opinion contrary to my own judgment. I am bound in duty to maintain those arguments which are most useful to Captain Knowles, as far as is consistent with truth; and if his conduct has been agreeable to the laws throughout, I am under a further indispensable duty to support it."

Much reference was made to the ancient laws of villenage, or semi-Slavery, in Britain. Mr. Dunning maintained that these were testimony that a slave was not an utter anomaly in the country. The class of villeins had disappeared, and the law regarding them was abolished in the reign of Charles II. But he maintained, that there was nothing in that circumstance to prohibit others from establishing a claim upon separate grounds. He said: "If the statue of Charles II. ever be repealed, the law of villenage revives in its full force." It was stated that there were in Britain 15,000 negroes in the same position with Somerset. They had come over as domestics during the temporary sojourn of their owners-masters, intending to go back again. Then it was observed, that many of the slaves were in ships or in colonies which had not special laws for the support of Slavery; and by the disfranchisement of these, British subjects would lose many millions' worth of property, which they believed themselves justly to possess.

British justice, however, has held at all times the question of human liberty to be superior to considerations of mere expediency. If the question be, who gains or loses most, there never can be a doubt that the man whose freedom has been reft from him has the greatest of all claims for indulgence. Accordingly, Lord Mansfield, the presiding judge, looking in the face of all the threatened evils to property, held that nothing but absolute law could trench on personal freedom. He used on the occasion a Latin expression, to the effect that justice must be done at whatever cost; it has found its way into use as a classical expression, and as no one has been able to find it in any Latin author, it is supposed to be of Lord Mansfield's own coining. "Mr. Stewart," he said, "advances no claims on contract; he rests his whole demand on a right to the negro as a slave, and mentions the purpose of detaining him to be the sending him over to be sold in Jamaica. If the parties will have judgment, *fiat justitia ruat cælum*—Let justice be done whatever be the consequence." In finally delivering judgment, he concluded in these simple but expressive terms: "The state of Slavery is of such a nature, that it is incapable of being introduced, on any reasons, moral or political, but only by positive law, which preserves its force long after the reasons, occasion, and time itself, for which it was created, are erased from memory. It is so odious that nothing can be suffered to support it but positive law. Whatever inconveniences, therefore, may follow from the decision, I cannot say this case is allowed or approved by the law of England; and therefore the black must be discharged."

A few years afterwards—in 1778—a case occurred in Scotland, where the question of a master's right over a negro slave in Britain was at issue. The right claimed in this case, however, was not of so offensive a nature. The master did not claim the power of seizing the negro as his property. He maintained, however, that their mutual position gave him a right to claim the negro's services, as if he had engaged himself as a servant for life. Mr. Wedderburn had bought in Jamaica a negro named Knight, about twelve years old. He came to Scotland as Mr. Wedderburn's personal servant, married in the country, and for some years seemed contented with his position. Probably at the suggestion of some who wished to try the question, as it had been tried in England, Knight went off, avowing his intention of being free. Mr. Wedderburn applied to a justice of peace, who at once issued a warrant for the negro's apprehension. The matter, however, came before the sheriff, a professional judge, who decided that the colonial laws of Slavery do not extend to Scotland, and that personal service for life is just another term of Slavery. After a tedious litigation, this view was affirmed by the Court of Session, and the negro was declared free. The case acquired notice from the interest taken in it by Dr. Johnson, and the frequent notice of it in Boswell's well-known work.—*Chambers' Jour.*

ANTI-JACOBIN POETRY.

In the last *Westminister Review* is an entertaining article on the poetry of the *Anti-Jacobin*, from which we take this extract on the well-known parody on Southey, written by Canning:

SAPPHICS.

THE FRIEND OF HUMANITY AND THE KNIFE-GRINDER.
FRIEND OF HUMANITY.

Needy Knife-grinder! whither are you going?
Rough is the road, your wheel is out of order—
Bleak blows the blast: your hat has got a hole in 't,
So have your breeches!

Weary Knife-grinder! little think the proud ones,
Who in their coaches roll along the turnpike-
-road, what hard work 't is crying all day "Knives and
Scissors to grind O!"

Tell me, Knife-grinder, how you came to grind knives?
Did some rich man tyrannically use you?
Was it the squire? or parson of the parish?
Or the attorney?

Was it the squire, for killing of his game? or
Covetous parson, for his tithes distraining?
Or roguish lawyer, made you lose your little
All in a lawsuit?

Have you not read the "Rights of Man," by Tom Paine?
Drops of compassion tremble on my eyelids,
Ready to fall, as soon as you have told your
Pitiful story.

KNIFE-GRINDER.

Story! God bless you? I have none to tell, sir,
Only last night a drinking at the Chequers,
This poor old hat and breeches, as you see, were
Torn in a scuffle.

Constables came up for to take me into
Custody; they took me before the justice;
Justice Oldmixon put me in the parish-
-Stocks for a vagrant.

I should be glad to drink your Honour's health in
A pot of beer, if you will give me sixpence;
But for my part I never love to meddle
With politics, sir.

FRIEND OF HUMANITY.

I give thee sixpence! I will see thee d——d first—
Wretch! whom no sense of wrongs can rouse to vengeance—
Sordid, unfeeling, reprobate, degraded,
Spiritless outcast!

[*Kicks the knife-grinder, overturns his wheel, and exit in a transport of Republican enthusiasm and universal philanthrophy.*]

Such is the famous "Knife-grinder," which convulsed the Whigs of England with comic delight. Our editor thinks it "unnecessary to speak" of it, and subsides into rapturous silence. Not only did it make the hit implied in its frequent quotation, but it has had a continued influence on the question of the employment of "saphic" metre in English. We doubt not that it deterred many an aspirant from following Mr. Southey in his metrical experiment. This, however, is not all. Writers on the great question of classical metres consider it to have injured our appreciation of the real Horatian sapphic itself. Mr. Clough conceives it to have confirmed our habitual "misreading" of that metre ("Classical Museum," vol. iv., p. 347); and over its "well-known jingle" the learned Donaldson has shed erudite tears! (See "Varronianus," note to p. 276).

Now, allowing for all this hubbub, is it anything more than a rather smart copy of verses, such as our comic publications of the day often enough furnish us with? We doubt if a reader pampered with modern pleasantry would, on coming to it for the first time, fresh from "*Punch*," think it anything but a squib of ordinary cleverness. As a burlesque of Southey's "Widow," however, it was fair enough. We could hardly wish such lines as the following to be spared:

Cold was the night wind; drifting fast the snow fell;
Wide were the downs, and shelterless and naked;
When a poor wanderer struggled on her journey
Weary and waysore.
Drear were the downs, more dreary her reflection;
Cold was the night wind, colder was her bosom;
She had no home, the world was all before her,
She had no shelter.

The radical objection to this sort of versification is, not that it is founded on a misapprehension of the metre it imitates (and it is only an ear-imitation of the ordinary jingle), but that it is an altogether unsuitable vehicle for the thought and feeling it is intended to convey. The "poor wanderer" is made to *trot*, and weary and bore us, without exciting our sympathy at all. This exotic metre has none of the magic force which belongs to our native rhythm, and which deepens tenfold the impression of a fact or a sentiment. The parody on the "inscription" mentioned above is certainly clever. We give the reader the benefit of it, prefixing the "inscription" itself:

INSCRIPTION [BY SOUTHEY].

For the Apartments in Chepstow Castle, where Henry Marten, the Regicide, was imprisoned thirty years.

For thirty years secluded from mankind
Here Marten lingered. Often have these walls
Echoed his fortsteps, as with even tread
He paced around his prison; not to him
Did Nature's fair varieties exist.
He never saw the sun's delightful beams,
Save when through yon high bars he poured a sad
And broken splendour. Dost thou ask his crime?
He had *rebelled against the king, and sat*
In judgement on him; for his ardent mind
Shaped goodliest plans of happiness on earth,
And peace and liberty. Wild dreams! but such
As Plato loved; such as with holy zeal
Our Milton worshipped. Blessed hopes! awhile
From man withheld even to the latter days
When Christ shall come, and all things be fulfilled!

[IMITATION.]

INSCRIPTION.

For the Door of a Cell in Newgate, where Mrs. Brownrigg, the Prentice-cide, was confined previous to her execution.

For one long term, or e'er her trial came,
Here Brownrigg lingered. Often have these cells
Echoed her blasphemies, as with shrill voice
She screamed for fresh Geneva. Not to her,
Did the blithe fields of Tothill, or thy street,
St. Giles, its fair varieties expand;
Till at the last, in slow-drawn cart she went
To execution. Dost thou ask her crime?
She whipped two female 'prentices to death,
And threw them in the coal hole. For her mind
Shaped strictest plans of discipline. Sage schemes!
Such as Lycurgus taught, when at the shrine
Of the Orthyan goddess he bade flog
The little Spartans; such as erst chastised
Our Milton, when at college. For this act
Did Brownrigg swing. Harsh laws! But time shall come,
When France shall reign, and all laws be repealed!

We know few parodies superior to this. Still our admiration keeps on this side idolatry. We are tempted to inquire mildly, with Leight Hunt in his "Autobiography," whether an "undue amount of fame" has not been allotted to Canning for these *jeux d'esprit!* Perhaps it is, that there is little wit and humour among our public men; assuredly epigrams make a tremendous sensation in St. Stephens which seem flat and ponderous to common people out of doors.

SKETCH OF THE COUNTESS RUMFORD.

Miss Sarah Thompson, the Countess of Rumford, died at Concord, N. H., on the 2d instant. On the 5th, the Rev. Dr. Bouton delivered a discourse on the death of the Countess, from which we take this brief biographical sketch of the Countess and her celebrated father.

"Yesterday a few family friends and acquaintances followed to the grave an aged lady, known among us as the Countess Rumford. But whence did she derive this title of nobility? What was she? What was her origin and her history? The Countess Rumford was a granddaughter of Rev. Timothy Walker, the first minister of this town. She was the only daughter of Benjamin Thompson, formerly a resident of this town, and was born on the spot where she died, October 18, 1774. Her father, remarkable for his native talent and enterprise, came to this town from Woburn, Mass., as a teacher, in 1772, and marrying the eldest daughter—then a widow—of Rev. Mr. Walker, settled among us. But as the war of the Revolution came on, being suspected of principles and feelings adverse to the American cause, he was obliged to flee for safety, first to his native town, and then to Boston, under the protection of the British, whence he was soon after sent by Gen. Gage, as the bearer of despatches to England. Attracting the attention of the Government there, he found honourable employment to the close of the Revolutionary war. Soon after that, 1783, he went to Germany, was introduced to the Elector of Bavaria, and was employed by him in various services, civil and military, in which he acquired most honourable distinction. Residing awhile at Munich, the capital of Bavaria, he became distinguished for his efforts to suppress the system of vagrancy and mendicity which had become a great public nuisance; and, as a reward, in part, for his services, he received from the Elector the title of "Count of the Holy Roman Empire"—with a pension settled on him for life of nearly $2,000 annually. To this title he added that of Rumford, in remembrance of his residence in this town, which was formerly called by that name. About the year 1796, he sent a request to his daughter in this country to meet him in London, which she did—her mother having previously deceased, 1792, aged fifty-two years. Subsequently the daughter attended and shared the fortune of her father, until his death, in France, in 1814.

The scenes and changes in her eventful life are in many respects remarkable. The forsaken infant of a persecuted father, fleeing from unmerited reproach and insult, for protection from an enemy he had opposed in arms—an orphan by the decease of the only parent left to protect her—forsaking the home of her childhood to pass an isolated life with her paternal grandmother in an adjacent State—a young girl in the hey